DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 335 961 FL 019 497

AUTHOR Minami, Masahiko
TITLE Children's Narrative Structure: How Do Japanese Children Talk About Their Own Stories?
PUB DATE Nov 90
NOTE 83p.
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS *Child Language; *Cultural Context; Discourse Analysis; Elementary Education; *Empathy; Foreign Countries; *Language Patterns; Language Research; Language Styles; *Narration; Poetry; *Story Telling; Young Children
IDENTIFIERS *Japanese People

ABSTRACT

The conversational narratives of 17 Japanese children aged 5 to 9 were analyzed using stanza analysis. Three distinctive features emerged: (1) the narratives are exceptionally succinct; (2) they are usually free-standing collections of three experiences; and (3) stanzas almost always consist of three lines. These features reflect the basic characteristics of "haiku," a commonly-practiced literary form that often combines poetry and narrative, and an ancient game called "karuta," which also displays three lines of written discourse. These literacy games explain both the extraordinary regularity of lines per stanza and the smooth acquisition of reading by a culture that practices restricted, ambiguous, oral-style discourse. The narratives can be understood in the larger context of "omoiyari" (empathy) training of Japanese children. This empathy training may explain the production, comprehension, and appreciation of ambiguous discourse in Japanese society. An 84-item bibliography is included, and narrative samples and discourse analysis results are appended. (Author/MSE)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

FL

ED335961

Children's Narrative Structure:
How Do Japanese Children Talk about Their Own Stories?

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN OTHER THAN PAPER COPY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Minami

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy

Qualifying Paper

Submitted by

Masahiko Minami

November 1990

FL019497

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Abstract

The conversational narratives of seventeen Japanese children aged five to nine were analyzed using stanza analysis (Hymes, 1982; Gee, 1985). Three distinctive features emerged:

1) The narratives are exceptionally succinct; 2) they are usually free-standing collections of three experiences; 3) stanzas almost always consist of three lines. These features reflect the basic characteristics of haiku, a commonly practiced literary form that often combines poetry and narrative, and an ancient, ubiquitous game called karuta, which also displays three lines of written discourse. These literacy games explain both the extraordinary regularity of lines per stanza and the smooth acquisition of reading by a culture that practices restricted, ambiguous, oral-style discourse. This paper discusses how these narratives are related to haiku and must be understood within the larger context of "omoiyari" (empathy) training of Japanese children. The paper then suggests that this empathy training may explain the production, comprehension and appreciation of ambiguous discourse in Japanese society.

Table of Contents

Introduction 1
I. Literature Review 3
A. Cross-Cultural Comparison of Language Socialization 3
B. Cross-Cultural Comparison of Narrative Production 8
C. Ambiguity and Literacy across Cultures 10
II. The Relationship between Haiku and Discourse 13
A. Overview: The History of Haiku 13
B. Haiku as a Discourse Regulation Mechanism 16
III. The Analysis of Stanza in Japanese 22
A. Data Collection 22
B. Coding Rules 23
C. Results and Discussion 34
IV. Educational Significance and Implications 46
Notes 52
References 60
Figure Caption 71

Introduction

This paper focuses on culturally specific aspects of Japanese children's narrative structure. Children from different cultures develop differently according to the models that adults endorse. Culturally specific norms dictate that different goals and plans are implemented in a wide variety of forms; parents in different cultures raise their children differently. Language and related behavior, especially children's narratives, provide clear examples of these differences. Children learn to tell their own stories using culture-specific representational forms and rules; thus the narrative style clearly reflects the interaction between language and culture.[1]

This paper is divided into four main parts: Part I is a review of language socialization and its impact on narrative, with particular attention to cross-cultural differences. Part II considers the basic characteristics of haiku, a commonly practiced literary form that often combines poetry and narrative, and an ancient, widespread game called karuta. This part then discusses the relationship between the particular characteristics of these literary games and Japanese discourse style. For the purpose of this paper, narratives were gathered from seventeen Japanese children living and attending elementary school in the Boston area. Part III presents an experimental study of narrative production based on the establishment of the coding rules for the analysis of Japanese narratives. This part also discusses the results when these coding rules are applied to the data collected. Finally, Part IV discusses the educational significance and implications of the results obtained in Part III.

The subject, Japanese children's narrative structure, was chosen because language arts such as reading, spelling, and writing receive much more emphasis in American than in Japanese classrooms (Cummings, 1980;

Stevenson et al., 1985, 1986a, 1986b, 1990). And this difference can be taken as a reflection of the difference in societal attitudes toward language, which obviously influence children's acquisition of culture-specific patterns of communication, an important part of socialization.

I would like to discuss the following issues in light of these differences:

1. What does past research tell us about cross-cultural differences in children's narrative structure?
2. Are there characteristic features of Japanese children's narratives? If there are, what features are unique to Japanese children's narratives?
3. If unique characteristics can be found in Japanese children's narratives, what significance and implications do these findings have for education?

I. Literature Review

A. Cross-Cultural Comparison of Language Socialization

According to Chomsky (1965, 1985), humans have a biological endowment to discover the framework of principles and elements common to attainable human languages, which is called a language-acquisition device (LAD). The LAD includes basic knowledge about the nature and structure of human language, i.e., universal grammar (UG). Although rules of sentence structure are limited (e.g., Subject-Verb-Object such as English or Subject-Object-Verb such as Japanese), no one could exhaustively list all the sentences of language; thus triggered by input, this internalized system of rules can generate an infinite number of grammatical sentences (Chomsky, 1957); i.e., children make hypotheses and compare them with UG. Chomsky further (1985, p. 146) writes:

> UG consists of various subsystems of principles; it has the modular structure that we regularly discover in investigation of cognitive systems. Many of these principles are associated with parameters that must be fixed by experience. The parameters must have the property that they can be fixed by quite simple evidence, because this is what is available to the child; the value of the head parameter, for example, can be determined from such sentences as John saw Bill (versus John Bill saw). Once the values of the parameters are set, the whole system is operative.

Chomsky feels that, in their language acquisition process, children move from the initial state S_0 to the steady state S_S, as if they set switches.

However, the story is not such a simple matter. From early childhood, children in different cultures have to learn the appropriate use of their language, as well as the grammar and vocabulary. Recasting Chomsky's (1965) dichotomy of competence (i.e., a person's internalized grammar of a language) and performance (i.e., the actual use of the language in concrete situations), which shifts a paradigm from isolated linguistic form (the grammatical sentences

of a language) to linguistic form in human context (the sequential use of language in conversation), Hymes (1974a) introduces the concept of communicative competence, the ability not only to apply the grammatical rules of a language in order to construct a grammatically correct sentence, but also to know when, where, and with whom to use these correct sentences in a given society.[2] The acquisition of communicative competence plays a significant role in the process of language acquisition and the development of language skills.

In different cultural settings in American society, one can observe dissimilarities in parental expectations and their resultant different communication styles. Children growing up in white middle-class, white working-class, and black working-class families have different experiences with literacy and develop different expectations concerning behavior and attitudes surrounding reading and written events. These differences thus bring about differing results in mastery of communicative competence in a specific culture. From her observation of "sharing time" classes, Michaels (1981) draws the distinction between the ways that black and white children describe past events in their narratives. Similarly, Heath (1982, 1983, 1986) states that children growing up in white middle-class, white working-class, and black working-class families have different experiences and possibly develop different expectations concerning behavior and attitudes. Each of their communicative styles therefore reflects a unique culture-specific perspective.

According to Hymes (1982), among the Chinook and some other North American Indian tribes, newborn babies were believed not to be babbling but to be speaking a special language which they shared with the spirits. Along the same lines, Ochs and Schieffelin (1984, p. 276) claim that "what a child says and how she or he says it will be influenced by local cultural processes, in

addition to biological and social processes that have universal scope." Ochs and Schieffelin further propose the following claims (1984, p. 277):

1. The process of acquiring language is deeply affected by the process of becoming a competent member of a society.
2. The process of becoming a competent member of a society is realized to a large extent through language, by acquiring knowledge of its functions, social distribution, and interpretations in and across socially defined situations, i.e., through exchanges of language in particular social situations.

Language learning and socialization are therefore two sides of the same coin.

Researchers who investigated the language acquisition and socialization process of the Kaluli of Papua New Guinea (Ochs & Schieffelin, 1984; Schieffelin & Eisenberg, 1984; Schieffelin, 1986) found that language is strongly dependent on social patterns; Kaluli mothers do not believe in baby-babbling, and claim that language begins at the time when the child uses two critical words, "mother" and "breast." Moreover, Kaluli mothers do not modify their language to fit the linguistic ability of the young child. During the first 18 months or so, very little sustained dyadic verbal exchange takes place between adult and infant. The infant is only minimally treated as an addressee, and not treated as a communicative partner in dyadic exchanges.

This Kaluli mother's attitude toward her child's language shows a remarkable contrast to that of the Anglo-American, white middle-class mother, who accommodates situations to the child from birth on. The middle-class mother treats her young child as an addressee in social interaction, and adults simplify their speech to match more closely what they consider to be the communicative competence of the young child (Snow, 1977, 1983, 1986, 1989a, 1989b). Following Bernstein's dichotomy (1971), middle-class mothers employ an elaborated code that, as a speech mode, psychologically facilitates

the verbal elaboration of subjective intent, while working-class mothers or Kaluli mothers, in greater or lesser degree, employ a restricted code, a speech mode in which it is unnecessary for the speaker verbally to elaborate subjective intent.[3] Thus, through these different processes, from a very early age, children are socialized into culturally specific modes of organizing knowledge, thought, and communication style.

Likewise, Japanese children are trained differently from American children or Kaluli children. Japanese adults expect that children should learn to read the minds of others and put themselves in another person's position, in order to understand his or her feelings. This value judgment, called omoiyari (empathy), is deeply embedded in the larger context of Japanese culture. As Clancy (1985, 1986) puts it, from an early age on, children go through the process of empathy training, in which they are encouraged to acquire an indirect and intuitive mode of expression.

Furthermore, in Japanese society, verbosity has traditionally been frowned upon, and the proverbs "silence is golden" and "still waters run deep" are favorably used. The Japanese language thus necessitates a subtle communicative style that demands a great deal of empathy on the part of the listener. This subtlety, sometimes taken for an equivalent of ambiguity, seems to function only in a homogeneous society where people believe that they are able and ready to feel others' needs and wants. Omoiyari (empathy) further fosters a complementary feeling of amae, to depend and presume upon another's benevolence (Doi, 1971; Lebra, 1976).

Subtlety and ambiguity are also found in the structure of the Japanese language itself. Japanese, typologically an Altaic language, in marked contrast to English or other Indo-European languages, is an SOV as well as a head-final (i.e., left-branching) language (Kuno, 1973). As Clancy (1986) points out, if we

do not take intonation contour into consideration, since negation appears as a verb suffix that comes at the very end of a sentence, the speaker can negate a sentence at the final moment, inferring the listener's reaction. Moreover, since Japanese has case markers, unlike English, a relatively free word order is allowed. To make matters complicated, however, in spoken Japanese, case markers are sometimes omitted (e.g., "Boku ø kinoo Boston ni itta" instead of "Boku wa kinoo Boston ni itta": "I went to Boston yesterday"), as subject, object or copula can be as well, e.g., "ø kinoo Boston ni itta": "(I) went to Boston yesterday"; "Okasan ga ø ø shite kureta": "My mom did (it) (for me)"; "Harvard Square wa Coop no mae (da/desu)"; "Harvard Square (is) in front of the Coop." These ellipses consequently result in ambiguity. As Clancy (1980) and Hinds (1984) observe, the rare use of pronominal references further spurs ambiguity in Japanese. These syntactic features possibly facilitate the subtle communicative style that is characteristic of Japanese.[4] The role of ambiguity in language occasionally presents problems for Japanese listeners. Even in Japanese society, nonambiguous language will be required for certain situations, such as court trials. The practice of ambiguity is, however, more likely to present problems for listeners who are not full participants in Japanese culture, and hence are unable to make required inferences aptly.

It is, of course, true that one can find individual differences; for instance, some Japanese children talk a lot, and some American children talk little. As cultural anthropologists claim (Whiting & Edwards, 1988; LeVine, in press), however, in spite of these individual differences, closer observation reveals behavioral similarities for children of a given age in each cultural setting. Rather than species-specific characteristics such as the previously mentioned language acquisition process claimed by Chomsky (1965), or person-specific variations (i.e., individual differences), finding such population-specific

characteristics is necessary for understanding what enculturation is all about (LeVine, 1988). One can thus possibly assume that children in one culture share many of their language skills with one another; children acquire a culture-specific model of communicative competence from different types of social experiences and characteristics of their social patterns.

B. Cross-Cultural Comparison of Narrative Production

To this point my arguments have centered on children's communication style, which, reflecting a particular cultural identity, develops in accordance with socially accepted rules. In this section I will continue a discussion of the culture-specific structure of personal narratives. The understanding of narrative is important because a specific narrative style not only reflects the language socialization process, but also represents a fundamental structure that has been culturally nurtured. Accordingly, we may be able to assume that Japanese and American narratives, mirroring their own social and cultural milieu, are different from each other.

Linguists in diverse fields, such as sociolinguistics or psycholinguistics, have been interested in finding out what kind of units people in different cultures employ in narrative production. Labov and his colleagues (Labov & Waletzky,1967, p. 20; Labov, Cohen, Robins, & Lewis, 1968, p. 287; Labov,1972, pp. 359-360) define narrative as "one method of recapitulating past experience by matching a verbal sequence of clauses to the sequence of events which (it is inferred) actually occurred"; these researchers present what linguistic techniques are employed to evaluate experience within the speaker's particular cultural set, such as Black English vernacular. Similarly, introducing the concept of the stanza, which belongs to a larger concept of the part, Hymes (1982) cites a short story from the Zuni, an American Indian tribe in New Mexico,

and develops his argument about a culture-specific pattern of narrative structure; if the story has four parts, Hymes calls it a four-part culture.

To further deepen his understanding about a culture-specific pattern of narrative, Gee (1985) applies the concept of stanza to his analysis, based on "idea units" that are defined by Chafe (1980) as a series of brief spurts. According to Gee (1989a), an ideal structure contains "lines," each of which is generally a simple clause, and a stanza consists of a group of lines about a single topic. Using this stanza analysis, Gee (1985, 1986a, 1989a) found differences between narratives from a black girl called Leona and a white middle-class child. He categorized the former as an oral-strategy (or poetic) narrative and the latter as a literate-strategy (or prosaic) narrative. Gee (1986a) then attributes this difference to whether a society is founded on an oral culture or on a literate culture. A so-called "residually oral community," less influenced by written-language styles than the white middle-class community, still retains ties to an oral tradition with a particular narrative pattern.

It seems, however, whether a particular community retains an oral tradition or not depends on its societal structure. As a matter of fact, in his review of orality and literacy, Gee (1986b, p. 737) discusses that "the oral/literate contrast makes little sense because many social groups, even in high-technology societies, fall into such mixed categories as residual orality." This argument by Gee corresponds to Heath's (1983, p. 344) discussion that "the traditional oral-literate dichotomy does not capture the ways other cultural patterns in each community affect the uses of oral and written language," as well as to Hymes's (1974b, p. 54) discussion that "it is impossible to generalize validly about 'oral' vs. 'literate' cultures as uniform types." A heterogeneous society like the United States may lose its oral narrative tradition except for what Gee calls a "residually oral community," while in a homogeneous society like

Japan,[5] which has developed a highly literate culture similar to the white middle class in America, we may be able to observe a different pattern of literate-strategy narrative from that of the white middle-class in America; this Japanese pattern of literate-strategy narrative may be based on an oral tradition that has been transmitted from generation to generation. If such is the case, we can claim that at least as far as a homogeneous society goes, a literate community can simultaneously retain its oral tradition.

In either case, narrative styles mirror the society in which they are employed. Adults teach their children culture-specific norms necessary to maintain a particular way of life; each narrative style reflects its culture. So, looking at a different cultural setting than America, we will find a different set of communicative styles and cultures. Gee (1985, p. 11) puts it, "Just as the common core of human language is expressed differently in different languages, so the common core of communicative style is expressed differently in different cultures"; along the same lines, Cazden (1988, p. 24) writes, "Narratives are a universal meaning-making strategy, but there is no one way of transforming experience into a story."

C. Ambiguity and Literacy across Cultures

As previously discussed, the issue of ambiguous oral discourse contrasted with explicit literate discourse has received a lot of attention in the United States (Michaels, 1981; Michaels & Collins, 1984; Cazden, Michaels, & Tabors, 1985). Scollon and Scollon (1981) observed that their two-year-old daughter Rachel, who could not read or write, was on her way to literacy necessary later in the Western school setting while, despite being grammatical, the way a ten-year-old Athabaskan girl in Alaska talked or wrote was regarded as oral and nonliterate; thus her style, which was ambiguous, was considered to be inappropriate

according to the Western norm of literacy. Also, as Scollon and Scollon (1981) warn, in American society such ambiguity tends to be confounded with preliteracy skills and further connected with social class, with little consideration of cultural differences. Therefore, there seems to be a general agreement in American society that an oral style is ambiguous and characterized negatively, whereas a literate style is explicit and characterized positively.

These issues of ambiguity, explicitness, and social class, however, must be understood and qualified as relevant to orality and literacy in heterogeneous American society. That is, when considering a different society, an understanding of these issues constitutes a different constellation of orality and literacy. For instance, in a homogeneous society like Japan, even if what the speaker talks about is not explicit but ambiguous, the similarity of background allows for (at least Japanese people believe it does) more accurate inferences on the part of the listener. As Azuma (1986, p. 9) correctly mentions, "in contrast to the West, where it is the sender's responsibility to produce a coherent, clear, and intelligible message, in Japan, it is the receiver's responsibility to make sense out of the message." This Japanese belief that the burden is always on the listener/reader and not on the speaker/writer is obviously cultivated by the empathy training that was mentioned previously. In other words, ambiguous production may not fail to communicate in Japan since interlocutors believe that they have shared experiences necessary to make sense out of ambiguous uses of the language. In Japan, as opposed to America, therefore, ambiguous communication can and does play a very different role in the interface of orality and literacy.

However, not only in the East but also in the West, the ambiguous mode of communication is acceptable in poetry. In an interview with Ekbert Faas (1978), the poet Gary Snyder says that he closes a poem where he feels it is

developed enough for the reader to be able to carry it. Scollon and Scollon (1981), referring to this same interview and finding similarities between Snyder's remarks and Athabaskan verse, claim that "this reticence, this attitude of not telling the reader but rather leading the reader to undertake his own work of understanding is characteristic of the best in human communication" (p. 127).

Having lived in Japan for several years with his Japanese wife, Snyder is influenced by Japanese culture. In the above-mentioned interview (Faas, 1978) he actually refers to the life-style of the haiku poet Basho, who, according to Snyder, reflects a particular Japanese cultural aspect of Zen Buddhism. As a matter of fact, one poetic form that is the focus of interest in this paper will be haiku. Considering haiku as a reflection of the narrative discourse pattern prevalent among Japanese, I will first discuss the origin and development of haiku, and then compare the patterns observed in haiku with my discourse analysis.

II. The Relationship between Haiku and Discourse

The widely known poetry form, haiku, has a close relationship to Japanese discourse style. A commonly practiced three-line literary form, haiku, connects poetry and narrative; its precursor karuta also displays three lines of verse. I will then argue how these games, providing a route to literacy that is an alternative to the typical production of explicit, extended discourse seen in middle-class American children, serve as discourse regulation mechanisms for Japanese children's conversational narratives.

A. Overview: The History of Haiku

The origin of haiku, a Japanese fixed-verse form of seventeen syllables with three lines in a five-seven-five pattern, dates back to ancient times (Yamada, 1956). The Manyoshu, the oldest existing anthology of poetry, was compiled in the eighth century. Although written in the letters that borrowed their pronunciations directly from Chinese characters, instead of the authentic Japanese letters that are employed together with Chinese characters nowadays, the Manyoshu is composed of about 4,500 poems that clearly form a Japanese tradition (Inaoka, 1981).

Among a variety of types of poems collected in the Manyoshu, two types of poems clearly possess one characteristic feature observed in haiku, basic syllable patterns. These patterns break down into (1) a thirty-one syllable verse form with five lines in a five-seven-five-seven-seven pattern, and (2) an arbitrary number of paired five-and-seven syllable-line verse form with two seven-syllable lines at the end. As a generic term, these two forms of poems were categorized as branches of waka, which literally means "Japanese poems." The former, shorter lyric poetry type specifically came to be called tanka ("short poem"), while the latter, longer verse form came to be called choka ("long

poem") (Sakurai, 1976). Considering the syllable pattern of five and seven, therefore, we can trace the origin of haiku to the ancient waka.[6]

As mentioned above, the generic category of Japanese poetry, waka, had several variations such as tanka and choka; but the shorter lyric poetry tanka gradually gained more popularity than choka (Sakurai, 1976). Around the eighth century, tanka had already become the more predominant form, and even nowadays it is appreciated as a very popular verse form. The essence of tanka is the vivid expression contained in its thirty-one syllables; it is described as elegant and lilting (Yasuda, 1962). In tanka, the first three lines of five-seven-five syllables are kami no ku (the "upper poem"), and the remaining two lines of seven-seven syllables are referred to as shimo no ku (the "lower poem").[7]

In contrast to tanka, which stresses the beauty of life and nature and thus possesses a pure and noble character, renga, which literally means "linked verse," was originally vulgar and funny literature (Yamamoto, 1969). In renga, two or more people get together, and one of them composes and writes down a kami no ku (the "upper poem"). Responding to the kami no ku, the other participant composes a shimo no ku (the "lower poem"). In this way, a chain of poems can be linked, numbering up to around one hundred altogether. Although a branch of tanka, renga was considered to be only a verse game and not serious literature, partly because it was developed by ordinary people living in villages, and not by noble court people (Yasuda, 1962).

However, as an interim verse form to haiku, and more important, as a verse form based on narrative, renga should not be overlooked. We should especially remember the fact that renga is based on a conversation between participants. Yamamoto (1969) explains that renga originated in a comic dialogue between a male group and a female group who, for a skit at a village

festival, imitated the conversation between a god and a spirit. Thus, based on a conversational form, renga facilitated a close relationship among villagers. Conversely, renga could not be severed from the community; those who were engaged in composing renga lived ordinary lives. We can thus see in renga the wedding of narrative and poetry. Rather, we may be able to say that the early history of Japanese poetry itself was closely connected with narrative discourse.

Later a form appeared called haikai, which literally means "funny" (Yasuda, 1962). Renga was developed by a person called Sogi (Saito, 1979) in the middle ages; it later came to be called haikai-renga. Later, Basho Matsuo,[8] who lived in the late seventeenth century and called himself Basho after the name of the hermitage where he lived (Asano, 1976), enhanced the value of hokku ("opening verse"), the opening seven-five-seven syllable lines of haikai-renga. By later generations, Matsuo was considered to have given autonomous life to hokku.[9] In either case, it is true that Matsuo inspired an independent art form based on hokku, and established haikai as an art form in which he dealt with life and nature, using aesthetic values such as the austere elegance called "wabi" and "sabi" (Isawa, 1984).[10] As Yamamoto (1963) cautions, however, haikai was still an art form closely connected with a rural community; thus, it was not only colored by "wabi" and "sabi," but also retained a discourse character. This is clear when we see that Matsuo frequently referred to those who gathered for haikai as renju, which means "linked people" (Shimizu, 1978; Murasawa, 1984).[11]

At the end of the nineteenth century, Shiki Masaoka claimed that only hokku ("opening verse") was worthy of being called literature, while haikai-renga was not.[12] Masaoka completely separated hokku from haikai-renga, and came to use the word haiku in what he called the "new form poetry movement" (Matsui,1967). Up to today, however, haiku has retained a collective discourse

character that has been derived from haikai-renga. When observing a variety of types of modern haiku movements, we can see several genres such as daidokoro ("kitchen")-haiku made by housewives (Shibata, 1984), or ryoyo ("convalescence")-haiku by those who are receiving medical treatment (Murayama, 1984). In haiku, people describe events and feelings in their daily lives; thus, it is clear that haiku maintains the narrative aspects that were observed originally.[13]

B. Haiku as a Discourse Regulation Mechanism

As seen in the previous section, evidence that haiku retains its discourse character is abundant. Other evidence is the inclusion of information regarding time, location, and object. As a feature of haiku, for instance, the inclusion of kigo (a word indicating season) is usually obligatory; kigo can sometimes refer to an animal as a character representing one of the clearly distinct four seasons. Unlike free discourse, in haiku it is impossible to depict an actual scene in detail due to the restriction to seventeen syllables. Consequently, abbreviating the essentials becomes necessary. The season word is an example of such abbreviation, and succeeds in evoking an image in the reader's mind. Citing Matsuo's work, which is still acclaimed as a masterpiece, Lee (1983) explains that haiku is composed of the three dimensions of location, object, and time:

On a withered bough,	(Location)
A crow perched;	(Object/Event)
Autumn evening.[14]	(Time)

Time, location, and object are crucial information for good discourse in order for the hearer to fully grasp what the speaker intends to say. Haiku satisfies these pieces of essential information in a very compact and abbreviated form.

Considering the close relationship between haiku and a discourse, we should also not overlook the existence of tsukeku ("added verse"), which was originally shimo no ku (the "lower poem") in tanka ("short poem"). The example below, which I translated into English, shows a hokku ("opening verse") by one of Matsuo's disciples, Boncho, and an ageku ("raising verse"), one form of tsukeku, by Matsuo (Basho) himself, in response to the hokku (Yamashita, 1984):

Hokku (by Boncho):	In the city,	(Location)
	The smell of things;	(Object of deleted copula)
	The summer moon.	(Time)
Tsukeku (by Basho):	"It's hot, it's hot"	
	Voices at entrance gates.	(Object of deleted copula)

As we have seen previously, haiku dates back to the beginnings of Japanese history; in contrast to the oral lyric waka, haiku, then called haikai, was established as written literature (Yamamoto, 1969). In spite of such written literature, or rather because of the short five-seven-five syllable written literature, haiku has succeeded in avoiding excessive lyricism and describes things objectively and concisely. Furthermore, haiku was born from narrative practices among villagers and is still being practiced by people in general. Haiku is, in essence, sparse formalized written discourse for two or more parties; this characteristic is very different from poetry in America, where one person articulates his or her ideas for vast audiences or for very different people. Probably because the narrative features in haiku appeal to the Japanese, they still appreciate haiku and enjoy making haiku by themselves.

The three-line structure that characterizes haiku is frequently encountered by Japanese children. A private after-school program that has branches all over Japan subscribes to the idea that appreciating haiku raises

kindergarten and elementary-school children's language development and, more precisely, their metalinguistic awareness (Tsubouchi, 1985; Kumon Education Institute, 1988). This after-school program thus encourages mothers to read a beautiful picture card on which a noted haiku is written to their children, until they have memorized it. This school also recommends that mothers read the first line so that children can recite the following lines.

This idea clearly has its root in an old practice of card games played not only in the home but also everywhere in Japan. These card games, generally called karuta, a loan word, carta, from Portuguese (Hayashi, 1986), are similar in appearance to baseball cards but are played quite differently. One of the oldest such games is hyakunin-isshu, literally "one hundred waka poems," with a five-seven-five-seven-seven pattern. These one hundred waka poems, which date back to the seventh century, were gathered together into a whole in the thirteenth century (Ishida, 1984). To play the game, the cards on which only the latter two lines (the lower poem) of seven-seven syllables are printed are laid face up. The players sit around these cards, listen to a person who is in charge of reading waka from the former three lines of five-seven-five syllables (the upper poem), and compete with each other by picking up the matching card. In order to win a game, people have to remember which of the upper poems read out matches one of the lower poems that are laid out.

Transmitting Japanese cultural traditions through card games shapes children's habitual way of using language from early childhood. Hayashi (1986) shows a set of old cards; for instance, one of the cards describes, in three lines like haiku, how courageously a samurai warrior hero in the thirteenth century fought against a giant flying squirrel (see Figure 1a). Especially in winter, one person reads and displays a card that has a three-line poem, proverb, or story. Children sit around a set of cards, each of which has the first

letter (a symbol representing the first syllable[15]) of a three-line poem, proverb, or story with a picture that depicts the content of three-line sayings (see Figure 1b). Children listen carefully and compete with each other to pick up the appropriate card. Similar but simpler cards are also available for young children. Therefore, haiku cards developed by the school mentioned above are clearly based on the same traditional idea.

Insert Figures 1a and 1b about here.

Even Japanese elementary-school children who are studying overseas make haiku by themselves. The following are two pieces of haiku; one was written by an adult and used for raising children's metalinguistic awareness (Kumon Education Institute, 1988), and the other one was written by a Japanese fourth-grader who lives in New York (Gakken, 1989) (note that I translated both haiku into English):

Snowflakes,	(Object)
Stars let them fall down;	(Location)
Christmas.	(Time)
Although it is cold,	(Time)
The Statue of Liberty	(Object and Location)
Stretches herself.	(Event)

Probably everyone feels that the former adult's one is really poetic and sophisticated, while the latter child's one is just cute or charming. But both pieces, in one way or another, symbolize inanimate objects. Of course, the Statue of Liberty is not necessarily considered as an inanimate object, because the Statue of Liberty is treated as "she." In Japanese, this personification of an inanimate object seems to be less poetic than in English; it is sometimes used

even in daily conversations among Japanese people, especially among mothers who, providing children with explicit training in empathy, appeal to the feelings of inanimate objects (Clancy, 1985, 1986). As a matter of fact, not only Japanese children but also children in public elementary schools in America have an opportunity to make haiku. But those children who learn to make haiku in American schools seem to learn personification of an inanimate object as a representation of poetic characteristics (Haley-James, Stewig, Ballenger, Chaparro, Millett, Terry, & Shane, 1988).

Although it is probably true that both Japanese and American children can appreciate haiku and learn to make it in order to raise their metalinguistic awareness, Japanese children may learn haiku more positively as a discourse regulation mechanism. That is, since writing and reading haiku are embedded in Japanese culture,[16] Japanese children may have had much exposure to an oral discourse pattern similar to haiku and have acquired the habits of talking associated with the haiku pattern. In Japan, schoolchildren are not necessarily formally instructed in written haiku, but because they are abundantly exposed to haiku in ordinary discourse situations, they require little instruction in order to compose it. Haiku and its precursor, karuta, may thus serve as discourse regulation mechanisms for Japanese children. Kumon (1989) presents the following two pieces of haiku that were made by second and third graders in Japan (my translation):

Second grader's haiku	Third grader's haiku
A foot-race, My heart is throbbing; Next is my turn.	An autumn festival, Making a noise, Everyone seems happy.

The above haiku pieces, both based on customary autumn activities in Japan, sound as if they were part of ongoing conversation, and thus I further

hypothesize that, rather than a dichotomy, prose and poetry form a continuum or even merge in Japanese. If this is really the case, we may be able to assume that haiku reflects general discourse patterns among Japanese. Conversely, in ordinary discourse patterns such as personal accounts of particular situations, we may be able to observe a structure that is similar to haiku.

Proceeding with our discussion further, if we can prove that the Japanese discourse style is illustrated in the haiku form, ambiguity in poetry contrasted with explicitness in expository style will not hold, at least in the Japanese style of narrative. To put it in another way, as one of the aspects of decontextualization[17] typical of the literate orientation, past research (Michaels, 1981; Scollon & Scollon, 1981, Cazden, Michaels, & Tabors, 1985; Tannen, 1985; Hemphill, 1989) has revealed a higher degree of explicitness in white middle-class children's discourse style, but ambiguous or restricted oral discourse style in working-class children's narratives in America. In contrast to these findings, we may be able to find a different set of features in Japanese children's narratives.

III. The Analysis of Stanza in Japanese

Stanza analysis has been applied productively to narratives from many cultures. Using coding rules that I developed for the stanza analysis of Japanese narratives, I will present an experimental study of narrative production. I will then discuss the results of applying these coding rules to conversational narratives collected from Japanese children aged 5 through 9, an appropriate age group in which to examine culture-specific aspects in narrative structure. Further, interpreting the results obtained, I will describe particular aspects that characterize how children turn their experiences into narrative.

A. Data Collection

For the purpose of this study, seventeen Japanese elementary-school children (13 boys, 4 girls) who have lived in the Boston area were interviewed in their native language. The children ranged in age from 5 to 9 years (mean=7 years; 6 months). All were children of college-educated, middle-class parents, who, with one exception, were researchers or students at Harvard, MIT, or Boston University.

Because most Japanese parents, especially in the Boston area, are not immigrants but visiting scholars or businesspeople sent for a limited time by large Japanese enterprises, all seventeen children had lived in America for less than two years. Except for two girls, Sayaka and Kei, who had just arrived in Boston from Japan about one month before the interview was conducted, all children were attending a Japanese school in Medford every Saturday morning and/or bilingual classes of Japanese and English at a local public school. All the children studied have siblings, and speak Japanese exclusively at home. As a matter of fact, since most of the children studied lived in Japanese

communities, they did not need to speak English except when attending mainstream classrooms or when playing with English-speaking children at school.

Recording sessions were each about half an hour long. Rapport was established through activities such as drawing pictures. In order to minimize the self-consciousness of the child, the conversations were primarily recorded at the children's own home. The children were asked prompting questions related to injuries in the manner developed by Peterson and McCabe (1983): "Ima made ni kega-shita koto aru?" ("Have you ever gotten hurt?"), "Ima made ni chuusha-shita koto aru?" ("Did you ever get a shot?"), or "Ima made ni hachi ni sasare-ta koto aru?" ("Did you ever get stung by a bee?"). If the children said "un/hai" ("yes"), they were asked follow-up questions such as "sore hanashite kureru?" ("Would you tell me about it?"). While such follow-up questions to children are not typical, neither are they unusual in Japanese discourse. To maintain conversational interaction and to further facilitate a conversation, general subprompts were employed, such as "un, un/huun" ("uh, huh"), "sorede/sorekara" ("and/then"), "motto hanashite kureru" ("tell me more"), or "sorede dou natta no?" ("then what happened?"), but no specific questions were asked. All interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed verbatim for coding. In addition, for another related study, ten Americans and ten Japanese adults were interviewed separately.

B. Coding Rules

For the analysis of Japanese children's narratives, I employed stanza analysis, which had not been applied to Japanese children's narratives. As previously mentioned (Part I, Section B), stanza analysis was developed by Hymes (1982)

and later extended by Gee (1986a, 1989a), who specifically hypothesizes the existence of the following units in any narrative performance (1986a, p. 403):

A. Idea units that converge on a unit that we have called the line. Such units are relatively short and contain one piece of new, or better focused, information. They will often, though not always, be clauses. The language will use whatever it uses to mark focused information to mark them (e.g., pitch glides), as well as junctural phenomena such as short pauses or hesitations.
B. Lines will cluster into thematically constant units that we have called stanzas. Stanzas will have a unitary perspective, not just in terms of larger elements like time, location, and character, but also in terms of a quite narrow topic or theme.
C. Larger topic/thematic units that we have called sections. Sections will be defined by a unitary perspective in terms of elements like location, time, and character.

As seen above, lines are mostly simple clauses, and a stanza is a group of lines about a single topic; a stanza can also be termed as representing a change of character, event, location, or time (Gee, 1989a). As for the largest unit, "sections," however, following Hymes (1982) and Gee's other works (e.g., 1989a, 1989b), I will hereafter call them parts.

As Hicks (1990, p. 28) reviews, "An analysis based upon lines and stanzas enables one to address sociocultural differences in how children thematically and structurally organize their narrative tellings." Gee's elegant analyses are thus an important contribution to narrative studies. However, since Gee (1985, 1986a, 1989a) formulated his stanza analysis exclusively for English-speaking children's narratives, his rules must be modified in order to be applicable to Japanese children's narratives. The following are coding rules for a stanza analysis in Japanese; the Japanese children's transcribed narratives were coded in accordance with these rules.

Rule 1. Irrespective of conjunction type, a clause that follows a conjunction forms one line. Gee (1989a) defines "line" as a single clause,

and the same definition is applied to stanza analysis in Japanese. To conduct an objective analysis, however, several problems have to be solved because in reality, a line does not necessarily correspond to a single clause.

First, when counting the number of lines, we have to define how to deal with compound and complex sentences. Although there are differences between English and Japanese, when we assume some sort of one-to-one correspondence, we can say that the conjunction soshite in Japanese generally corresponds to the coordinate conjunction and in English. Toki and maeni generally correspond to the subordinate conjunctions when and before, respectively. There is little need for discussion about a compound sentence, which contains two or more independent clauses joined by coordinate conjunctions such as and. Below, an example of complex and coordinate clauses is presented from Ichiro's narrative:[18]

(1) Saku atta kara, soko ni butsukatte ne, sugoi chi deta.
Because there was a fence, I ran into it, you know, and I bled a lot.
(Ichiro: Part one, stanza two, lines 4, 5 and 6)

Since the first clause begins with kara (because), this is a complex sentence, which will be discussed soon. The second and the third clauses are connected with the coordinate conjunction te, which is an abbreviation of soshite (and) when connected with the preceding verb;[19] thus, they are coordinate clauses. Putting aside ne, which is translated as "you know,"[20] the second and the third clause are considered to constitute distinctly separate lines because they are two individual clauses.

A complex sentence is defined as a sentence containing one or more dependent clauses in addition to its independent clause. In terms of counting the number of lines, however, a complex sentence is not as easy to define as a

compound sentence. Gee (1989b) considers each of the following complex sentences as one line:

(2) and before we went into a cave we saw the dinosaur with the [?feelin]
(3) I stuck my finger at the first dinosaur when we were gettin' the cave

As we see in example 2 above, Gee does not count the subordinate clause "before we went into a cave" as one line. The same is true of example 3, in which Gee does not consider the subordinate clause, "when we were gettin' the cave," as one line.

However, as seen in the case below, Gee sometimes considers that a subordinate clause can constitute one line:

(4) an when I got home (as one line)
the party was all over (as another line)

Clearly, when we compare examples 3 and 4, we see that Gee handles subordinate clauses differently. Since both conjunctions, when and before, form subordinate clauses, there is no reason why when can sometimes constitute one line, while before cannot constitute one line. Furthermore, it is questionable that when can constitute one line in some cases but cannot in other cases.

Perhaps the reason lies in the fact that examples 3 and 4 violate the temporal order of narrative sequences; i.e, if the examples had been temporally ordered like "we saw the dinosaur before we went into a cave" and "when we were gettin' the cave I stuck my finger at the first dinosaur," Gee might have divided each example into two lines. This is somewhat related to the distinction between "foregrounding" and "backgrounding" (Hopper, 1979; Hopper & Thompson, 1980), which I will refer to later, but since a change in the order does not cause a change in the temporal sequence of the events, each

example is treated as constituting one line instead of two. Unfortunately, however, this explanation does not account for the two lines in example 4.

Perhaps the reason lies in the intonation contour or a "pause"; the speaker said example 2 or 3 as if it were one clause, while the speaker paused during example 4. As Hymes says, each new pause indicates the end of one line and the beginning of another. In this sense too, Gee's distinction is reasonable, and there is no objection to his analysis. However, Hymes also discusses that pauses could be an artifact of how long one can hold one's breath, thus creating a problem with determining the organization of lines by pauses. In my analysis of Japanese narratives, therefore, as far as a temporal sequence is observed, whichever the clause type is, either a clause following a coordinate conjunction (e.g., soshite or te, meaning "and") or a clause following a complex conjunction (e.g., toki, meaning "when"), a clause forms one line.

I will also have to discuss another two types of clauses: 1) embedded clauses without subordinate conjunctions, and 2) direct speech. As a matter of fact, since neither the embedded clause nor direct speech has conjunctions, there is no need for discussion here. For caution's sake, however, let me make it clear that I do not consider that the embedded clause or direct speech forms one line. Both the embedded clause and direct speech share one characteristic: they are both sentences occurring within another sentence. Limiting the category of subordinate clauses to embedded clauses and direct speech, I will follow Labov's (1972) analysis where a subordinate clause does not serve as a narrative clause at all because, once being subordinated to another clause, it is not possible to disturb the original semantic interpretation by reversing the order of main and subordinate clauses. The following are such examples: 5, embedded, 6 and 7, direct speech. For instance, example 5 is

considered to constitute just one line, instead of two lines ("I knew" and "it would hurt"):

5) itai omoi ne, wakatte-ta kara ne.
I knew, you know, it would hurt, you know.
(Shun: Part two, stanza four, line 9)

6) nan ka motte goran toka itte,
He said to me, "Hold something,"
ah, chotto itai, chotto itai toka itte ne.
and I said "Ouch! It hurts a little bit" or something, you know.
(Shige: Part one, stanza five, lines 14 and 15)

Someone might ask that if clauses following a complex conjunction and embedded clauses are both complex clauses, why a clause following a complex conjunction can form one line whereas embedded clauses and direct speech cannot. All these discrepancies are due to features of the Japanese language; according to Japanese grammar, a clause following a complex conjunctive makes up a compound sentence, and only sentences with embedded clauses such as relative clauses are regarded as complex sentences (Okubo, 1958).

Rule 2. When Japanese ne (you know) comes at the end of one statement that is especially related to time, it signals the break between two lines. Perhaps there is still room for counterargument to the Japanese conjunction toki as shown in the following example:

(7) Sansai gurai no toki de, ne.
When (I was) about three years old, you know.
(Yoko: Stanza one, line 1)

According to Rule 1, when looking at the English translation of example 7, it clearly constitutes one line. If the example has either a subject or a verb, there is no room for argument, and the example distinctly constitutes one line.

However, as seen in the example where the subject and verb are parenthesized, example 7 in the original Japanese lacks not only a subject but also a verb. In other words, the example can be translated into "at around age three, you know"; then the example is just a prepositional phrase functioning as an adverbial phrase, not constituting one line.

Obviously, the discrepancy lies in the fact that Japanese and English lack one-to-one linguistic correspondence; specifically, the problem is caused by ellipsis in Japanese, which was mentioned previously (Clancy 1980; Hinds, 1984). Kuno (1973, pp. 16-17) writes:

> In English and many other languages. . . there is a very strong pressure that there be overt subjects for finite verbs, that transitive verbs have overt objects, and that subjects appear at the sentence-initial position. . . In Japanese, sentences can have their subjects missing, and transitive verbs have their objects missing.

It is easy to say that since in spoken Japanese, subject or verb deletion (or simultaneous deletion of subject and verb) is acceptable, example 7 in Japanese corresponds to "When (I was) about three years old, you know" in English, and thus forms one line. As mentioned previously, in haiku the deletion of copula is prevalent even in written Japanese, and in her comparison between English and Japanese discourse, Clancy (1980) found that English pronominal use corresponds not only to the nominal but to ellipsis in Japanese as well. At the same time, however, there might be a case that "at around age three" is more appropriate than "when I was about three years old" because the Japanese word toki does not necessarily mean when, but sometimes means the English preposition at. All these problems are caused by the fact that in Japanese, deletion of important information such as a subject or a verb occurs relatively frequently and is tolerated by listeners.

Now we realize that defining a line by intonation contour, proposed by Gee (1985, 1986), makes sense also in Japanese. There is strong evidence that example 7 forms one clause. At the end of the clause, we can see ne, which is translated into you know in all examples that we have seen so far. Since we are observing oral discourse, all narratives are more or less contextualized. According to Scollon and Scollon (1981), "you know" in English is an indicator of contextualization and indexicity. The same is true of Japanese oral discourse where ne is, in a sense, an attention-getting device. By uttering ne, the speaker waits for the hearer's back-channeling such as "uh-huh"; as a matter of fact, we can sometimes find an obvious break (or a major pause) after ne.[21] Thus, we can state a corollary to Rule 2 as follows:

> A statement including toki (when or at)[22] might be just an adverbial phrase instead of a clause, on condition that neither subject nor verb is found in that statement (note: clause means one line in this case). However, if ne is included at the end, the statement with toki (when) definitely constitutes one line.

In order to avoid further confusion, we need to define ne more precisely. When ne comes after the statement including toki, that statement constitutes one line. However, the Japanese word ne does not always signal a break between lines. Let us observe the following example and the corresponding English translation:

(8) Demo ne[1], unto ne[2], minna hachi ga kowai karatte ne[3],
tsukamaete ne[4],
umete asonde ta no ne[5].

But, you know,[1] because everyone is, you know,[2] very scared of bees, you know,[3]
we caught a bee, you know[4]
and buried it under the ground, you know.[5]
(Ichiro: Part five, stanza ten, lines 30, 31, and 32)

Although the first line in Japanese includes three ne's, only the third one signals a break. Similarly, the fourth ne signals a break, and the same is true of the fifth ne. Note that each of these three ne's comes after a verb, while neither the first nor the second ne comes after a verb. In reality, the first ne modifies demo (but), and the second ne modifies unto (very); thus they serve differently than the other ne's modifying the line itself.[23]

Rule 3. Among the hierarchical levels of stanza analysis, the basic level is "stanza," the subordinate level is "line," and the superordinate level is "part." This rule follows Gee's (1985, 1989a) definition of "stanza" exactly. A stanza is a group of lines about a single topic, and thus the basic-level category of stanza analysis is "stanza," and the subordinate-level category is "line." In addition, following Hymes (1982) and Gee (1989b), I group related stanzas as a "part." Therefore, stanza analysis has a certain hierarchical structure, and stories are hierarchically organized in terms of syntax (for further understanding of "part," see Figure 3 in the next section, which represents the hierarchical structure of Sayaka's narrative).

Example 8 above forms one stanza, focusing on the topic "playing with bees." Now, using the following Japanese stanzas that are originally from Shun's narrative (Part one, stanzas three, four and five), I would like to review what have been defined in Rules 1 and 2.

(9)

FIRST STANZA: First shot		
1)	Saisho wa ne,	As for the first shot, you know,
2)	Ehime no toki ni yatte ne,	I got (the shot) at Ehime, you know,
3)	ita katta, sugoku.	It hurt a lot.
SECOND STANZA: Second shot		
4)	Nikai me wa ne,	As for the second shot, you know,
5)	itai omoi ne, wakatte takara ne.	I knew, you know, it would hurt, you know,
6)	Maa ne, ma ma itaku nakatta kedo ne.	It didn't hurt so much, you know.

THIRD STANZA: The other shots

7)	Sono tsugi mo mata onnaji.	The next one didn't hurt so much, either.
8)	Ichiban saigo wa ne,	As for the last shot, you know,
9)	zenzen itaku nakatta.	It didn't hurt at all.

To American ears, these stanzas might seem to comprise three short, separate narratives that are not extensively developed, and this type of narrative may strike American classroom teachers as "lacking imagination" (I will refer to this issue later). However, there is a nice progression from the first shot that, we can easily infer, surprised the boy and was painful, to the second one that did not seem so bad, and to the last one that did not hurt at all.

When we look at line 1 and line 4, we can find the following two characteristic features: 1) both lines have the same marker wa, which is generally considered as a topic marker (Hinds, 1984); 2) Although it is used in almost all lines, ne is, as previously mentioned, an attention-getting device, and hence, when combined with the topic marker wa, it sends a strong cue to draw attention, signaling the beginning of a new topic. Thus, stanza one focuses on the first shot, and stanza two on the second shot. Unlike these two stanzas, wa and ne appear in the second line of stanza three (line 8), and this stanza focuses on the last shot, including the shots after the second one.

On the other hand, in spite of the fact that line 2 includes toki and ne at the end, this information will not be divided into two lines like "Ehime no toki ni" and "yatte, ne." If we had divided this information into two lines, the translation would have been "When (I was) in Ehime, I got the shot, you know." In reality, ne modifies the entire information in line 2 and not "Ehime no toki ni"; that is, ne does not directly modify toki. Thus, line 2 cannot be subdivided any more. It is clear now that like stanza analysis in English, stanza analysis in Japanese also has a certain hierarchical structure.

Rule 4. Freestanding abstracts, codas, and comments are excluded from the line and stanza count. However, there is still an issue to be solved for stanza analysis, namely, how to deal with what Labov et al. call a "free clause" (Labov & Waletzky, 1967; Labov, Cohen, Robins, & Lewis, 1968; Labov, 1972). According to these researchers, narrative clauses are temporally ordered; a change in their order will result in a change in the interpretation of the original semantic interpretation; in other words, they are restricted clauses. By contrast, a free clause, which is not confined by any temporal juncture, can range freely through the narrative sequence.

Along the same lines, Hopper and Thompson (1980, p. 280) define "foregrounding" and "backgrounding" as follows:

> Users of a language are constantly required to design their utterances in accord with their own communicative goals and with their perception of their listener's needs. Yet, in any speaking situation, some parts of what is said are more relevant than others. That part of a discourse which does not immediately and crucially contribute to the speaker's goal, but which merely assists, amplifies, or comments on it, is referred to as BACKGROUND. By contrast, the material which supplies the main points of the discourse is known as FOREGROUND. Linguistic features associated with the distinction between foreground and background are referred to as GROUNDING.

In the quote above, Hopper and Thompson do not say that the unit that they employ for the distinction between "foregrounding" and "backgrounding" is the clause, but "backgrounding" and "foregrounding" clearly correspond to Labov's "free clause" and "narrative clause," respectively. In stanza analysis, then, freestanding/backgrounding abstracts, which occur at the beginning and summarize a narrative, and codas, which are formalized endings of a narrative and are often or always in the present tense in the data collected, are neither counted as separate stanzas nor as lines. Similarly, comments on the narrative, only adding detailed descriptions, are excluded when counting lines and

stanzas. When applying Hopper and Thompson's "backgrounding" to stanza analysis, if a clause describes a natural phenomenon such as scenery and thus the subject NP is inanimate, that clause is not counted as a line. Example 10 below, which is from Jiro's narrative (Part two, stanza four, lines 9, 10 and 11), nicely illustrates a three-line stanza and thus three foregrounded clauses, with a backgrounded clause.

(10)

Tonari no ne, ano nanka, mizu ga sa,		Next to a road, you know, there is a place where
ame futtari suru toki ni toru basho ga aru de sho,		water, um when it rains, runs through, isn't there?
1)	Soko ni ne, ushiro no tire o ne, otoshite ne,	There, you know, I dropped, you know, the rear wheel, you know.
2)	Sorede ne, ishi no tokoro no kado ni ne, koko butsukete ne,	Then, you know, I bumped, you know, into a corner of a stone, you know.
3)	Sorede kega shita no.	Then, I got hurt.

As we can see from the example above, Jiro's description of a place where he got injured supports and backgrounds his main foregrounded story about injury. Following the above-mentioned coding rules, in the next section I will show the results of the Japanese stanza analysis.

C. Results and Discussion

Table 1 shows the breakdown of the seventeen Japanese children's narratives when stanza analysis is applied to the data gathered.[24]

Insert Table 1 about here.

When we look at lines per stanza and the ratio of the three-line stanzas to the total stanzas, the pattern of a stanza consisting of three lines seems quite clear. The overall mean of lines per stanza is 2.98. When observing the data individually, Takashi (9 years old) showed the smallest mean of 2.56, and Jiro

(6 years 10 months old) showed the largest mean of 3.31, but the difference between them does not seem very large. Without exception, the individual mean number of lines per stanza shown by all children clusters around three lines. Furthermore, three-line stanzas amount to 55 percent (97) of the total 176 stanzas produced by all the children (Figure 2a indicates the number of lines per stanza; figure 2b shows the percentage of stanzas with a given number of lines). Also, nine children show that three-line stanzas account for over 56 percent of each individual child's total stanzas. In addition, three-line stanzas account for over 40 percent of each individual's total stanzas of three other children.

Insert Figures 2a and 2b about here.

In example 9, Shun, an 8-year, 4-month-old boy, recited three stanzas that were each composed of three lines and corresponded to similar but different injection experiences. Shun recited eleven stanzas in total, which is the average number of stanzas told by the Japanese children studied. Furthermore, the mean lines per stanza is 3.00, and three-line stanzas amount to 72.7 percent (8 three-line stanzas) of his total stanzas. I thus consider that Shun's narrative reflects a general tendency among the Japanese children's narratives observed.

We should not, however, oversimplify this tendency; although I believe, in spite of individual differences, we can find patterns among the Japanese children, we should still investigate individual differences. Two children, for instance, Shige (boy) and Haru (girl), who are both seven and a half years old, show exceptionally greater numbers of stanzas than any other children.

Shige's narratives are composed of seven parts, which correspond to seven different experiences, whereas Haru stayed with a single experience from the beginning to the end; thus the whole narrative constitutes one part. The difference in the number of experiences may be simply related to a difference between personal experiences; i.e., Shige may have been injured very often, while Haru may never have been seriously injured. As a matter of fact, in the interview Haru said that she hadn't been seriously injured, although she had had many injections. In spite of having had many injections, however, Haru described only one experience, in which, briefly stating her experiences that she had had many injections in Japan and two in America, she described how she had had to have two injections at one time, as shown in example 11 below.

(11) Haru's Narrative, STANZA FIVE:

1)	"Ikkai dayo" tte iwarete ne.	I was told "One shot," you know.
2)	Sorede otoo san ga "Ikkai" tte itta no ne.	And father said "One shot," you know.
3)	Soshitara sensei ga "Nikai dayo" tte.	Then, a doctor said "Two shots."
4)	Bikkuri shita.	I was surprised.

Line 4 represents Haru's comment on this occasion; this line may constitute a coda and thus background this specific experience. However, I consider line 4 forms a line because it is stated in the past tense that is directly connected with her reaction when she heard a doctor saying two shots. Then, Haru referred to her younger brother, who, to her chagrin, had had only one shot. Haru still went on to describe how, with a severe pain after the shots, she ate lunch and dinner, exchanged her bed with her mother's, played with her friends, and finally ordered her brother to make the bed.

Shige stood out from all the other children in a different sense from the way Haru did. In spite of the fact that he was prompted to discuss the same experience, Shige, frequently changing his topics, told seven different experiences. He first talked about how his younger sister pulled his arm out of

joint, and because of this injury he had to go see a doctor (example 6). Then, although he was asked to continue the same story, saying, "I'll tell you another time I got hurt," Shige talked about how he fell to the ground when he was playing on wobbly tires. Then saying "what else?" to himself, Shige talked about how he got burnt in the hand. As seen in example 12 below, unlike Haru's case, I do not consider that Shige's parenthesized comment constitutes a line because it is stated in the present tense and thus backgrounds the preceding lines.

(12) Shige's Narrative, STANZA NINE

1)	Nihon de ne, mada boku ga ne go sai ka roku sai no toki ne,	When I was, you know, only five or six years old, you know, in Japan, you know,
2)	aruite tara,	when I was walking,
3)	hito no tobacco ga ne boku no te ni atatta. (Mada nokotteru, hora koko.)	someone's cigarette, you know, touched my hand. (I still have its mark, look here.)

Since Shige described each injury very briefly, he was frequently asked to continue the same experience. As a matter of fact, this brief factual description of an event is prevalent among the Japanese children studied; thus, in this sense, Shige is not exceptional. Paying no attention to the request to continue the same experience or interpreting it differently as if he were asked to mention another injury experience, he told how he got a deep cut from a big shellfish when he visited his grandmother's house, and example 13 below shows the final stanza leading to a resolution.

(13) Shige's Narrative, STANZA TWELVE

1)	Son toki ne, boku no obaachan no uchi kara deta kara ne,	Then, you know, I walked out of my grandmother's house, you know.
2)	obaachan ga ne, onbu shite kureyouto shita.	My grandma, you know, tried to carry me on her back.
3)	Kedo, ne, obaachan onbu deki nai kara,	But you know, because my grandma couldn't carry me,
4)	"Ah, taihen taihen" tte,	so she said, "That's bad, that's bad,"
5)	boku no okaasan yonde kite	and called my mom, and my mom to come,
6)	shite kuretano.	and ø (unintelligible) did something.

The above stanza consists of an exceptionally larger number of lines not only among Shige's narratives, but among the other children's narratives as well. Also, Haru and Shige used direct speech in example 11 and examples 6 and 13, respectively. Okubo (1958) considers direct speech to be one of the features that are frequently observed among primary graders' oral narratives, and characterizes the use of direct speech as a lack of decontextualization; however, the use of direct speech was quite rare among the children studied. In spite of the exceptionally large volume of narrative and use of direct speech, the narratives by Shige and Haru still show a strong tendency to three-line stanzas; in this sense, they are not exceptional.

The difference in the number of experiences between the above two children's narratives may reflect gender differences; boys may be more likely to be allowed to be active and consequently may be injured more frequently than girls. Yoko, a 6-year, 7-month-old girl whose narrative was partly cited in example 7 in the previous section, told of only one experience like Haru's, and when asked to continue, she said "that's it"; thus her narrative is also exceptional.

(14) Yoko's Narrative

STANZA ONE: Orientative comments (introduction of time and location)

1)	Sansai gurai no toki de, ne,	When I was three years old, you know.
2)	chiisai toki de,	When I was small,
3)	nanka ano, restaurant ni itteru toki,	Um, when I went to a restaurant,

STANZA TWO: Events

4)	ano, kaidan kara ochite,	Um, I fell on the stairs,
5)	soshite odeko o utchatte.	and I hit my forehead.

STANZA THREE: Location change

6)	soshite byouin.	And a hospital.
7)	ano sono restaurant no	Um, a man at the restaurant,
	ojisan ga (ii hito de,	(who was a nice man,
	anone, ii hito de,)	um, who was a nice man,)
	byouin made dakko-shite	carried me to the hospital.
	tsurete itte kureta no.	
8)	soshite, byouin de ne,	And at the hospital, you know,
	atama, ano, odeko o ne nutta no.	I had stitches on my head, um, on my forehead.

As seen above, Yoko's narrative is clearly characterized as a factual description of temporal sequence; she stayed with the subject and stated it in a chronologically sequenced manner, mostly in three-line stanzas. In this sense, her narrative seems typical among the Japanese children's narratives studied. In stanza three, Yoko backgrounded a person who had helped her. In the original Japanese narrative, she said "ii hito de, ii hito de" (ø is a good man, ø is a good man: note that ø means empty). In the Japanese use of complement clauses, the present tense must be used if the main clause is in the past tense (Kuno, 1973). Her use of the present tense clearly shows that her comments on this person belong to such types of complement clauses and are thus embedded in the main sentence that the man at the restaurant carried her to the hospital. Structurally, Yoko's narrative seems to correspond nicely to Labov et al.'s definition of a personal narrative (Labov & Waletzky, 1967; Labov, Cohen, Robins, & Lewis, 1968; Labov,1972), which is constructed by the temporal order of narrative clauses with the incorporation of free clauses that are equivalent to what Hopper and Thompson (1980) call "backgrounding."

A question still remains, however. Unlike the above-mentioned researchers' definition of a narrative, as far as the Japanese children studied are concerned, telling a stack of isolated but similar incidents, either across stanzas but within one part as seen in Shun's narrative (example 9) or across parts as seen in Shige's narrative (examples 11 and 12), is more generally observed rather than the narration of a single experience.[25] Two girls, Yoko and Haru, whose narratives accord with the Labovian definition of the narrative at least in this way, may be exceptional for the Japanese children. In contrast to these two girls, Shige, who is considered an exception in terms of volume, is not unusual in terms of the way he told stories; on the contrary, since he told a stack

of isolated experiences, his narrative is considered typical among the Japanese.

It is questionable to attribute this difference only to a gender difference, because the remaining two girls, Sayaka and Kei, juxtaposed similar but different events like the boys observed. Example 15 below, for instance, presents the 7-year, 10-month-old girl Sayaka's narrative in response to being asked, "Have you ever gotten hurt?" Like Shige, she juxtaposed three different types of injuries across parts: (1) an injury in kindergarten, (2) a fall off an iron bar, and (3) two hernia operations.

(15) Sayaka's Narrative

PART ONE: Injury in kindergarten

STANZA ONE: Got hurt in kindergarten

1)	Yochien no koro,	When I was in kindergarten,
2)	ashi o jitensha de hasan de,	I got my leg caught in a bicycle,
3)	koko, koko kitte.	I got a cut here, here,

STANZA TWO: Aftermath of injury

4)	Gibusu shiteta, ikkagetsu kurai.	I wore a cast for about a month.
5)	Isshukan kurai yasunde,	I took a rest for about a week,
6)	mata itta.	and I went back.

PART TWO: An iron bar

STANZA THREE: Fell off an iron bar

1)	Koko kitta no,	I had a cut here.
2)	tetsubou kara ochite,	I fell off an iron bar.
3)	Un, kuchi ga futatsu ni natchatta.	Yeah, I had two mouths.[26]

PART THREE: Hernia operations

STANZA FOUR: The first operation

	/Unto, nanka, umaretsuki datte./	Um, well, I was born with hernia, I heard.
1)	Katappo wa	As for the one hernia,
2)	chitchai akachan no koro ni kittetanda kedo.	as a little baby, I got an operation, but.

STANZA FIVE: The second operation

3)	Katappo ga kitte nakatta kara,	I didn't have an operation for the other one.
4)	Ichinensei no hajime goro ni nyuuin shite,	So as an early first grader, I was hospitalized,
5)	kitta no.	and I got an operation.

As seen above, Sayaka not only juxtaposed three different types of injuries across parts, but, after her orientative comment which served as background information, she also juxtaposed her hernia operations chronologically across stanzas in part three. Figure 3 below clearly illustrates Sayaka's story structures. We now may be able to say that a presentation of a stack of isolated incidents across parts and/or stanzas is one of the characteristics among Japanese children's narratives.

Insert Figure 3 about here.

This tendency is further confirmed when we observe example 16 below, which was told by Taro, a 6-year, 9-month-old boy.

(16) Taro's Narrative
PART ONE: An injury at dad's place
STANZA ONE: At cafeteria

1)	Mae ne, Boku otoosan no ne	Before, you know, I was in a cafeteria
	tokoro no cafeteria de ne,	at my dad's, you know, place, you know.
2)	nandatta ke, hashitte tara ne,	um, what, I was running, you know,
3)	ishi no tetsu no ishi ni atama utta.	I hit my head against a stone, an iron stone.

PART TWO: Another injury at dad's place
STANZA TWO: At college in Japan

4)	Sorekara ne, Nihon de ne otoosan no	And then, you know, in my dad's college,
	daigaku no tokoro de ne,	you know, in Japan, you know.
5)	unto ne, concrete no tokoro ni ne,	Um, you know, I was sitting, you know,
	kou yuu fuu ni natta tokoro ni	on a place made of concrete,
	suwatte tara ne,	you know.
6)	ushiro muita mama,	I tumbled backward with a "bang!"
	bokan toka itte hikkuri kaette	

STANZA THREE: Head was cooled off

7)	Atama kara ne, sukoshi atama no	Some of my hair was scraped off my head,
	ke ga surimuita no.	you know.
8)	Sorede, hiyashi tari shite ne,	And my head was cooled off, you know.
9)	naotta kedo.	and I was all right.

In the example above, Taro mentioned two injuries, using stanza one for one injury, and stanzas two and three for the other. However, these two injuries are in fact related to each other in the respect that both occurred at places where his father was working. Therefore, Taro told his injuries across stanzas but, unlike Sayaka, he told these injuries within one part.

Haru's narrative (partly shown in example 11) and Yoko's narrative (example 14) are each based on a single experience, whereas the narratives told by Shige (examples 12 and 13), Sayaka (example 15), and Taro (example 16) consisted of a stack of isolated but similar experiences, rather than a series of integrated events comprising a single experience defined by Labov and his colleagues (1967, 1968, 1972). Thus, there is a striking contrast between these two types of presentations, i.e., a presentation of a single event versus a collection of similar but different events. As we have seen above, a Japanese child's narrative is likely to have a collection of experiences; furthermore, it occurs across stanzas and/or parts.

Table 2 below, which was told by Shun in example 9, clearly illustrates a narrative consisting of a collection of isolated but similar events (I omitted the contextualized cue "you know" this time, however.) Likewise, Table 3, presenting a narrative told by Moto, a 7-year, 4-month-old boy, shows a similar presentation to that by Shun.

Insert Table 2 about here.

Insert Table 3 about here.

As far as these two cases are concerned, a collection of experiences occurs across stanzas but not across parts. It might still be argued that these two children had never been seriously hurt and consequently had not had the kind of painful experiences that children in general tend to elaborate. However, this comment is not necessarily true. For example, another 7-year, 6-month-old boy, Tatsu, had a bone broken only half a year before this taping session. In the interview, which is translated and shown in example 17 below, he only said, "I had a bone broken," and stacked up his hurt experiences in the distant past. Therefore, it does not seem true that stacking of similar events is due to a lack of seriousness of the incidents that a child experienced. I assume that either across stanzas or parts, juxtaposition of experiences under one broader theme is one specific feature among the Japanese children's narratives.

(17) Tatsu's Narrative:
STANZA ONE: Abstract
1) Uh, when I got hurt,
2) I had a bone broken,
3) and blood poured out.

STANZA TWO: Lots of blood was streaming down
4) When I was small,
5) I was running with a toy,
6) and I missed my step on the stairs,
7) and from here lots of blood was streaming down,

STANZA THREE: Got burnt
8) and I had a huge blister on my leg.

STANZA FOUR: Blood was running down
9) When I was very small, /because I was silly,/
10) That was not a needle, uh, something to cut here.
11) I touched it,
12) Blood was running down.
13) Blood gushed out.

STANZA FIVE: A door banged shut
14) I cut here with a bang of a door.
15) Then, when I was sleeping,
16) my bed was full of blood.

STANZA SIX: Aftermath of injury
17) My nail has turned into this strange, ugly shape, you know.
18) My nail came off, you know.
19) My big nail came off.

Additionally, three children, Shun, Hiro, and Yoshi, showed another variation of the above-mentioned Japanese children's narrative style. For instance, Yoshi, a 7-year, 10-month-old boy, gave an abstract of his two injuries first, one in Japan, and the other in America. He briefly talked about his injury in Japan, and then restarted to describe his injury in America in a more detailed manner. This insertion of a brief description of one experience is another feature of Japanese children's oral narratives, and the translated version of Yoshi's narrative is shown below.

(18) Yoshi's Narrative:
STANZA ONE: Got hurt
1) I fell down,
2) I got a big injury here,
3) I bumped into a heater,
4) I got hurt here.

STANZA TWO: One injury
5) First, as for this one, you know,
6) when I lived in Japan, you know,
7) I was dashing "dah dah dah,"
8) I tumbled,
9) I got hurt.

STANZA THREE: The other injury
10) And, as for the other one, you know,
11) I was playing, you know,
12) I stumbled,
13) I bumped into a heater "bang."

[The interviewer interjected "Then?"]

STANZA FOUR: It bled
14) Then, it bled "drip drip."

STANZA FIVE: Went to the hospital
15) Then, I went to a children's hospital, you know,
16) then, I got stitches here,
17) and then, I had a bandage on it

STANZA SIX: The next day
18) The next day, everybody asked me, "What happened to your forehead?"
19) And because I could hardly speak English at that time,
20) I remained silent.[27]

The results of the other set of interviews, in which I asked ten Japanese adults for their opinions about how many similar events should be ideally

contained in a good narrative, also support my hypothesis. Among the ten interviewees, there was one male who was studying at the Harvard School of Public Health, and the rest of the adults were wives of Harvard University students. Additionally, although all ten Japanese have children, none of them are parents of the seventeen children examined. The average age of the ten adult interviewees was 30.0 years old. The male student at Harvard was in a graduate program; the nine Japanese mothers had attended college, but not graduate school.

The Japanese adults were specifically asked in Japanese, "Dorekurai onaji yo na episode[28] ga hanashi no naka ni aru to ii to omoi-masu ka? (How many similar episodes do you think should be contained in an ideal narrative?)" Three interviewees answered that two events are ideal, while two said that the ideal number of events is three. Another three interviewees answered that two or three events are ideal. Thus, 80 percent of the interviewees believe that two or three events should ideally be contained in a narrative, which clearly supports the Japanese children's narrative constructions. Of the other two adults, one said four events are good, while the other said if the narrative is "very well described," only one event is acceptable.

As mentioned previously, in Hymes's (1982) analysis of cultural patterns of narratives, he calls it a four-part culture if the story has four parts. Although the exact pattern was not established, Japanese narratives (as seen in the children's examples above and inferred from the interviews with the adults) seem to have a two- or three-part cultural pattern in accordance with Hymes's typology.

IV. Educational Significance and Implications

When the conversational narratives of seventeen Japanese children, aged five to nine, were analyzed using stanza analysis, three distinctive features emerged:

1. Japanese children's narratives are quite succinct.
2. Despite follow-up questions that encouraged them to talk about one experience, Japanese children generally present freestanding collections in their monologic personal narratives. The number of experiences ranged from two to four, with the exception of two girls who talked only about one experience.
3. Stanzas almost always consist of three lines. More specifically, 55 percent of the stanzas produced by the Japanese children were three lines long. The average number of lines per stanza ranged from 2.56 to 3.31 for individual children, and the overall mean of lines per stanza is 2.98.

In many respects, the form of Japanese children's narratives reflects the essential features of haiku, a commonly practiced literary form that often combines poetry and narrative, and the ancient, ubiquitous game karuta, which also displays three lines of written discourse. The collection of experiences we saw in the Japanese children's monologues reflects the essential collectiveness of experiences typically practiced in haiku composition and the karuta game. These literary games not only explain both the extraordinary regularity of lines per stanza, but also may account for the smooth acquisition of reading by a culture that practices restricted, ambiguous oral discourse.

However, I do not believe that Japanese children understand the three-line rule as some sort of formal constraint; since it is not a formal constraint, four-line stanzas, for example, should be categorized not as failure to do the three-

line stanza correctly but as free variation. To put it in another way, I do not think that the development of haiku has "caused" the development of the Japanese children's oral narrative styles discussed in this paper. To the contrary, in Japan children are not necessarily formally instructed in such rules as observed in haiku. Instead, since haiku reflects some underlying cultural values, it has long been very popular among Japanese people. Along the same lines, the haiku (or quasi-haiku) style is so culturally embedded and children are so abundantly exposed to this style in ordinary discourse situations, their oral narratives reflect the three-line pattern observed in haiku. Conversely, literary games such as haiku and karuta are very popular because they represent underlying Japanese cultural values. These games thus well reflect and explain the extraordinary regularity found in Japanese children's conversational narratives, as well as the tendency for children to speak succinctly of collections of experiences rather than at length about any one experience in particular.

A prerequisite of haiku is to abbreviate the essentials; depicting an actual scene in detail is impossible due to the restriction to seventeen syllables. The same characteristic was observed in Japanese children's narratives, in which they tended to succinctly talk about a stack of isolated, similar events. Of course, the brevity of a narrative may be taken for ambiguity because of its lack of elaboration. However, many Japanese children's narratives consist of a simple description of successive events, and thus are classified as the chronological pattern in Peterson and McCabe's (1983) system. By telling chronologically sequenced stories and supporting them by backgrounded information, most Japanese children made their stories straight to the point and stayed on the subject, and thus succeeded in making their stories understandable. In other words, by describing a collection of isolated but similar events, they could succeed in delineating a holistic structure of those

events that they wanted to describe. I consider that these rules of presentation at least partly compensate for any ambiguity caused by the brevity of their narrative.

These findings certainly pose a question: if a child who has acquired a certain paradigm for communication in one culture is thrown into another culture, what happens? Habitual ways of communicating may not necessarily work in a new cultural setting. To encourage and stimulate children from a different culture, therefore, one has to know something of the communicative style of that culture (Hymes, 1982). In the school setting, especially, teachers need to understand children from a different culture. For instance, teachers who have been accustomed to a discourse style with a clearly identifiable topic, which tends to be used by white middle-class children, may misunderstand black working-class children, who tend to use a discourse consisting of a series of implicitly associated personal anecdotes (Michaels, 1981; Cazden, Michaels & Tabors, 1985; Gee, 1985; Cazden, 1988). Even if the same language is spoken, communication may be difficult if the manner of presentation is different. Since language reflects a specific pattern of socialization, if linguistic socialization in a school setting runs counter to the linguistic socialization process that the individual experiences in early childhood, conflict naturally occurs.

By contrast, as Scollon and Scollon (1981, p. 12) claim, "Even where grammatical systems are different, communication can succeed if there is agreement about the discourse system between two different languages." Along the same lines, Heath (1983, p. 392) discusses that "groups may be found in many societies around the world who share a significant number of the characteristics of these mainstreamers, in spite of substantial linguistic and cultural differences." For instance, Japanese children may be well understood

by those who are non-Japanese, such as white middle-class Americans, because the Japanese children tell chronologically sequenced stories with supportive backgrounded information.

Recall, however, that the Japanese children just stated facts. Also, recall that Sayaka supported her stories with the "I heard" part (example 15). These factual ways of representation are strongly recommended in Japanese classrooms lest children should tell make-up stories (Okubo, 1959). I showed the translated English version of two Japanese children's (Moto and Tatsu) narratives to ten Americans who were Harvard University students or spouses of Harvard University students, and I told them that those narratives were collected from American mainstream children. These Americans understood the Japanese children's narratives with little difficulty. Among them, however, there was a middle-class white woman who was teaching kindergarten. Her comment on those narratives was impressive; citing Moto's narrative (Table 3), she said, "He is a very shy child. This child seemed to have difficulty expressing his feelings. The quality of how he spoke is immature, pretty much facts. He does not use his imagination." This comment supports my own observations on classroom differences in America and Japan. I have observed first-grade language arts classes in Cambridge and Brookline many times, where teachers always said to children, "Use your imagination." and "Be creative." Those teachers' words caught my attention very much because in language classrooms in Japan, I have never heard teachers telling children to use their imagination or to be creative. Instead, Japanese teachers always tell children to state the facts clearly and accurately.

As Sutton-Smith (1988, p. 19) argues, however, we need to keep in mind that "what has often been viewed as a deficiency in imagination within schoolrooms turns out on closer examination to arise because of cultural

differences in its deployment" and that "what we tend to think of as imaginative is a highly culturally relative picture." The same American who was a kindergarten teacher also said to me as follows: "These children need help. They need more encouragement. To help them to learn those skills, they should be in a different type of program to help them because if they were in the same type of program as the children who are more advanced, they would be very discouraged and would not be able to accomplish something. And if the children who are more advanced were put in the same program, they would get bored. At school, they would not learn, either. I think it important to assess each child's skills, and to really help them to improve upon what they have better. That's education." I do not say that this kindergarten teacher is wrong. Rather, she honestly represents middle-class Anglo-American opinion. Similarly, if a Japanese elementary school teacher were presented a Japanese-translated mainstream American children's narrative and were informed that the narrative was told by a Japanese child, she or he might say that the child should be placed in a different program because that child talks in a different way.

Socialization reflects the relationship between the individual and society. Through the process of socialization, the individual internalizes the values of society; and language socialization reflects one such socialization process (Ochs, 1986). From babyhood on, an individual is socialized in culturally specific ways, with the primary agent of socialization being the family. Once a child starts to go to school, however, the primary agent of socialization changes from the family to school, which may try to reshape students' narratives as well as their ideas to fit its philosophy. I call this later reshaping process, which occurs in early years of schooling, the later pattern of socialization. As researchers have discussed (e.g., Scollon & Scollon, 1981), the individual's success at school largely depends on whether these early and later patterns of

socialization parallel each other. We can easily imagine that if patterns of socialization, such as attitudinal difference toward narrative discourse between the two cultures, are different, it must be difficult for a child to overcome such difficulties in a short period of time. This study thus suggests that cross-cultural training can greatly help teachers working with children from other cultures.

Notes

1. I am grateful to Catherine Snow, Allyssa McCabe, and James Paul Gee for their questions and critical comments, and to Cornelia Wright for her editorial assistance.

2. Criticizing Chomsky's definition of "competence," Hymes (1974a, pp. 92-93) writes:

> Chomsky's redefinition of linguistic goals appears, then, a half-way house. The term"competence" promises more than it in fact contains. It is restricted to knowledge, and, within knowledge, to knowledge of grammar. Thus, it leaves other aspects of speakers' tacit knowledge and ability in confusion, thrown together under a largely unexamined concept of "performance."

3. I am indebted to James Paul Gee, who suggested that I need to clarify that I do not mean dichotomies like "elaborated code" and "restricted code" make sense. For example, Hemphill (1989) shows that the original theory of codes fail to account for the data she gathered in the Boston area. Rather, the intent of this paper is to, as Gee (personal communication) correctly described, argue that "the form a discourse practice employs is explicable only in relation to the history and culture of the groups whose social practice the discourse is part of."

4. The reader must bear in mind that although some syntactic features of the Japanese language are suited for carrying out a subtle communicative style, any causal relationships between those syntactic features and particular cultural aspects are not implied.

5. The distinction of homogeneous and heterogeneous society is considered to form a continuum rather than a dichotomy. Specifically, similarities in language,

culture, value system, and family structure are considered to compose this continuum.

6. According to Yasuda (1962), the Manyoshu had a five-seven syllable note, while the Kokinshu, an anthology of waka poetry complied in the year 905, had a seven-five syllable note.

7. Hereafter, according to general usage, I will use tanka and waka alternatively.

8. His first name "Basho," meaning a Japanese banana plant, is usually considered a pseudonym. But in fact, it came from the name of the hermitage where he lived (Asano, 1976).

9. As a matter of fact, in Western countries such as America or England, haiku was called hokku before World War II (Saito, 1984).

10. "Wabi" and "sabi" are nominalization of the adjectives "wabishii" (lonely as human being) and "sabishii" (lonesome in nature), respectively (Isawa, 1984).

11. It is interesting that the poet Gary Snyder (Faas, 1978), idealizing the relationship between a haiku teacher and his/her linked people, described that a teacher did not make his/her living by publishing haiku but functioned as a critic, receiving money by criticizing the work of his/her linked people. This relationship is sometimes criticized in Japan, however; some people ironically describe it as a wonderful necessary evil that tends to be misused and corrupted (Makimura, 1989).

12. The reader should bear in mind that Masaoka lived in the time when Japan was in the process of modernization, trying to catch up with Western industrial countries. In order to show that Japan traditionally possessed noble literature comparable to that of Western countries, Masaoka reexamined Matsuo as a man of letters in Japan, and reached the conclusion that those who want to know Basho (Matsuo) as a man of letters should not appreciate him as a man who made haikai because haikai originally means "funny" (Matsui, 1967).

13. The reader may think that "conversational aspects" rather than "narrative aspects" is more appropriate in this case. However, the following haiku that was made by Basho (Henderson, 1958) in 1686 and is still considered the best-known haiku in Japan, for example, illustrates a one-event narrative (my translation):

Furu-ike ya	An old pond;
Kawazu tobi-komu	A frog jumps in,
Mizu no oto	Water-sound.

Moreover, the following convalescence-haiku made by Sanpei Tamura (Murayama, 1984) after World War II strongly appeals to the reader's feelings as a one-event narrative (my translation):

Haru no yo no	A spring night;
Shibin oto o tatsu	A bedpan makes sound,
Wabishisa yo	Loneliness I feel.

As seen above, the third line, "loneliness I feel," clearly illustrates an evaluative coda. Therefore, granted that the word "narrative" is used somewhat loosely in this paper, both haiku presented above have more narrative than conversational qualities.

14. Lee cites the translated version of the haiku in differently ordered lines. To be faithful to the original by Matsuo, however, I reordered the lines of the translated haiku.

15. Note that because of the Japanese syllabic systems, Katakana and Hiragana, the first letter has a one-vowel sound, often with a consonant before. Examples:

Katakana	Hiragana
ma	sa

16. It is estimated that ten million people make and appreciate haiku in Japan (Makimura 1989). For example, despite a scandal, one particular politician was reelected in a recent nationwide election. According to a leading Japanese newspaper, the Mainichi of February 19, 1990, when asked to express his feelings by reporters, that politician wrote and presented the following haiku (my translation):

Arigataki	(I am) thankful for
Hito no nasake ya	People's sympathy (with me);
Haru kitaru	Spring has come.

17. To express the same concept, some researchers prefer different terms such as "self-contextualization" to "decontextualization" (Dickinson and Smith, 1990). Following the convention, however, I use the term "decontextualization" in this paper.

18. The names of all children interviewed in this project have been changed.

19. As is clear in example 1, since abbreviated te is connected with the preceding verb butsuka(ru), "and" is placed differently in the English translation than te in the original Japanese. The same thing will happen in examples shown later.

20. Someone might argue that translating ne into "you know" sounds awkward. As a matter of fact, Clancy (1985) interprets ne as the speaker's request for the listener's agreement, and translates all ne's, except for one, into tag questions. As for the exceptional case, she translates ne into "OK?" I agree with Clancy's translation. I believe, however, translating ne into "you know" is more appropriate, as far as my data are concerned. Moreover, I consider that "you know" in English is a special discourse device, which is equivalent to ne in Japanese. I will further discuss this use later in Rule 2.

21. My observation is supported by Okubo's (1959) categorization of ne, where he defines this type of ne as an indication that a child, pausing there, is searching for what to say next.

22. Toki becomes not only a preposition but also a conjunction. However, unlike English, which is a right-branching language, Japanese is a left-branching language; thus, in Japanese toki becomes a postposition and not a preposition. By the same token, conjunction toki comes at the end of the clause. With this knowledge in mind, example 7 is easy to understand; toki comes almost at the end of the statement.

23. My treatment of this type of ne corresponds to that by Okubo (1959), where he explains that primary graders, not knowing how to emphasize a particular phrase or word yet, overuse ne for that purpose.

24. I did all of the scoring by myself. To make the analysis reliable, however, I asked another Japanese to score 15% of the original Japanese transcripts. Reliability was estimated using the formula $\frac{\text{\# of agreements}}{\text{\# of agreements + \# of disagreements}}$. Agreement on counting lines was estimated to be 96.7%, and agreement on stanzas was estimated to be 100%.

25. Prompting questions such as "sorede/sorekara" ("and/then") "motto hanashite kureru" ("tell me more") or "sorede dou natta no?" ("then what happened?") may be interpreted in more than one way. For instance, "tell me more" can be interpreted as implying both "tell me more about the same story (i.e., continue the same story)" and "you can talk about another story, and tell me more." Taking the requests as meaning the latter, the children who were interviewed might have engaged in stacking. As I previously mentioned when discussing Shige's narrative (example 12), however, if the children took the request as the latter, they were explicitly asked to continue the same story. In spite of this unambiguous instruction, the Japanese children tended to tell a stack of isolated but similar incidents.

26. Sayaka, pointing at her chin, meant that the wound was cut open as if it were also a mouth.

27. I am grateful to James Paul Gee for suggesting an alternative analysis that beautifully illustrates the connection between the Japanese children's data gathered and the whole discussion of haiku.

Gee points out that Tatsu's opening stanza (example 17) is, indeed, almost a haiku:

STANZA ONE
1) When I got hurt
2) I had a bone broken
3) And blood poured out

Also, although some stylistic changes are necessary, many of the four-line stanzas read like three-line haiku as follows:

STANZA TWO
1) When I was small,
2) I was running with a toy / And I missed my step on the stairs,
3) And from here lots of blood was streaming down.

Furthermore, according to Gee, the first and third "lines" of stanzas one and two are similar to each other in form and content (i.e., both first lines start with "when..." and both third lines begin with "And...") and thus a clear parallelism exists between stanza one and two.

Similarly, Gee's analysis of Yoshi's narrative reveals that the narrative has an elegant structure, which is again almost like haiku (note that the original first lines, "as for this one" in stanza one and "as for the other one" in stanza three, are deleted in his stylistic analysis; also notice that stanza four, which was actually separated from the interviewer's interjection, is integrated into stanza three):

STANZA ONE
1) I fell down
2) I got a big injury here / I bumped into a heater
3) I got hurt here.

STANZA TWO
1) When I lived in Japan
2) I was dashing "dah dah dah"/ I tumbled
3) I got hurt.

STANZA THREE
1) I was playing
2) I stumbled / I bumped into a heater "bang."
3) Then it bled "drip drip"

By employing this stylistic analysis as in Tatsu's narrative, we notice in Yoshi's narrative too the existence of beautiful parallel structures: 1) "bumped," "tumbled," and "stumbled" in the second "lines"; 2) "I got hurt" in the first two third lines, coupled with "Then it bled" (a description of being hurt) in the last third line.

28. The use of the word "episode" can be associated with "episodic story grammars" (Peterson and McCabe, 1983), and thus there exists a danger of misinterpretation. However, since the word "episode" has been adopted into the Japanese language, the Japanese interviewees easily understood that "episode" meant "event." If, on the other hand, the original intent, "How many similar events should be contained in an ideal narrative?" had been directly translated into Japanese and addressed to the Japanese speakers, it would have sounded somewhat awkward to them.

References

Asano, N. (1976). Haikai no goi to bunpo (Vocabulary and grammar of haikai). Tokyo: Ofusha.

Azuma, H. (1986). Why study child development in Japan?. In H. Stevenson, H. Azuma, & K. Hakuta (Eds.) Child development and education in Japan. NY: Freeman, 3-12.

Bernstein, B. (1971). Class, codes and control, Vol. 1: Theoretical studies towards a sociology of language. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

Cazden, C. B., Michaels, S., & Tabors, P. (1985). Spontaneous repair in sharing time narratives: The interaction of metalinguistic awareness, speech event, and narrative style. In S. W. Freedman (Ed.), The acquisition of written language, Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 51-64.

Cazden, C. B. (1988). Classroom discourse, Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.

Chafe, W. L. (1980). The development of consciousness in the production of a narrative. In W. L. Chafe (Ed.), The pear stories: Cognitive, cultural, and linguistic aspects of narrative production, 3. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 9-50.

Chomsky, N. (1957). Syntactic structure. The Hague: Mouton & Co.

Chomsky, N. (1965). Aspects of the theory of syntax. Cambridge, MA: M.I.T. Press.

Chomsky, N. (1985). Knowledge of language. NY: Praeger.

Clancy, P. M. (1980). Referential choice in English and Japanese narrative discourse. In W. C. Chafe (Ed.), The pear stories: Cognitive, cultural, and linguistic aspects of narrative production, 3. Norwood, NJ: Ablex, 127-201.

Clancy, P. M. (1985). The acquisition of Japanese. In D. I. Slobin (Ed.), The crosslinguistic study of language acquisition. Vol. 1: The data. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 373-524.

Clancy, P. M. (1986). The acquisition of communicative style in Japanese. In B.B. Schieffelin & E. Ochs (Eds.), Language socialization across cultures. NY: Cambridge University Press, 373-524.

Cummings, W. K. (1980). Education and equality in Japan. NJ: Princeton University Press.

Dickinson, K. D., & Smith W. M. (1990, April). Bookreading as a setting for the use of self-contextualizing language with low-income preschoolers. Paper presented at the 1990 AERA Annual Meeting Program, Boston, MA.

Doi, T. (1971). The anatomy of dependence, trans. J. Bester. NY: Harper & Row. Original title: Amae no kozo. Tokyo: Kodansha.

Faas, E. (1978). Towards a new American poetics. Santa Barbara, CA: Black Sparrow Press.

Gakken (1989). Yonen no gakushu (Fourth-grader's study), 11. Tokyo: Gakushu Kenkyusha.

Gee, J. P. (1985). The narrativization of experience in the oral style. Journal of Education, 167, 9-35.

Gee, J. P. (1986a). Units in the production of narrative discourse. Discourse Processes, 9, 391-422.

Gee, J. P. (1986b). Orality and literacy: From the savage mind to ways with words. TESOL Quarterly, 20, 719-746.

Gee, J. P. (1989a). Two styles of narrative construction and their linguistic and educational implications. Discourse Processes, 12, 287-307.

Gee, J. P. (1989b, October). Stanzas: The intersection of psycho and socio linguistics. Paper presented at the 14th Annual Boston University Conference on Language Development, Boston, MA.

Haley-James, S., Stewig, J. W., Ballenger, M. T., Chaparro, J. L., Millett, N. C., Terry, C. N., & Shane, J. G. (1988). English: Teacher's edition level 5. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin.

Hayashi, N. (1986). Hyakunin-isshu no sekai (The world of one hundred waka poems). Tokyo: Aoki-shoten.

Heath, S. B. (1982). What no bedtime story means: Narrative skills at home and school. Language in Society, 11, 49-76.

Heath, S. B. (1983). Ways with words: Language, life and work in communities and classrooms. NY: Cambridge University Press.

Heath, S. B. (1986). Taking a cross-cultural look at narratives. Topics in Language Disorders, 7, (1), 84-94.

Hemphill, L. (1989). Topic development, syntax, and social class. Discourse Processes, 12, 267-286.

Henderson, H. G. (1958). An introduction to haiku: An anthology of poems and poets from Basho to Shiki. NY: Doubleday Anchor Books.

Hicks, D. (1990, Spring). Narrative skills and literacy learning. In J. Hardman, T. Hickey, & J. Newman (Eds.), Working papers in educational linguistics, 6 (1), University of Pennsylvania Graduate School of Education.

Hinds, J. (1984). Topic maintenance in Japanese narratives and Japanese conversational interaction. Discourse Processes, 7, 465-482.

Hopper, P. (1979). Some observations on the typology of focus and aspect in narrative language. Studies in Language, 3, 37-64.

Hopper, P., & Thompson, S. (1980). Transitivity in grammar and discourse. Language, 56, (2), 251-299.

Hymes, D. (1974a). Foundations in sociolinguistics: An ethnographic approach. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Hymes, D. (1974b). Speech and language: On the origins and foundations of inequity among speakers. In E. Haugen & M. Bloomfield (Eds.), Language as a human problem. NY: Norton, 45-71.

Hymes, D. (1982). Narrative form as a "grammar" of experience: Native Americans and a glimpse of English. Journal of Education, 2. 121- 142.

Inaoka, K. et al. (1981). Manyoshu no sekai (The world of the Manyoshu). Tokyo: Obunsha.

Isawa, M. (1984). Wabi, sabi (Loneliness). In K. Murayama, & K. Yamashita (Eds.), Haiku-yogo no kiso-chishiki (Basic knowledge of haiku terms). Tokyo: Kadokawa, 301-304.

Ishida, Y. (1984). Teika fukugen: Hyakunin-isshu (Restoration to the original state of Teika: One hundred waka poems). Tokyo: Ofusha.

Kumon Education Institute (1988). Kongetsu no haiku (the haiku of this month). Tanoshii yochien: Sukusuku room (Happy kindergarten: Growing-up room) 12. 2.

Kumon Education Institute (1989). Kodama (Echoes) 174.

Kuno, S. (1973). The structure of the Japanese language. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Labov, W., & Waletzky, J. (1967). Narrative analysis: Oral versions of personal experience. In J. Helm (Ed.), Essays on the verbal and visual arts. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press, 12-44.

Labov, W. (1972). Language in the inner city. Philadelphia, PA: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Labov, W., Cohen, P., Robins, C., & Lewis, J. (1968). A study of the nonstandard English of Negro and Puerto Rican speakers in New York City, vol. 2 (Cooperative Research Project No. 3288). Office of Education, Washington, DC.

Lebra, T. S. (1976). Japanese patterns of behavior. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawaii Press.

Lee, O-Y. (1983). Haiku de Nihon o yomu: Naze "furuike no kawazu" nanoka - Nihonjin no bi-ishiki, kodo-yoshiki o saguru (Reading Japan with Haiku: Why "a frog in an old pond" - examination of sense of beauty and behaviors of the Japanese), Kyoto: The PHP Institute.

LeVine, R. A. (1988). Enculturation: A biological perspective on the development of self, unpublished manuscript, Harvard University.

LeVine, R. A. (in press). Cultural environments in child development. In W. Damon (Ed.), Child development today and tomorrow.

Makimura, K. (1989). Haiku, hyakka-ryoran (Haiku, alive like all sorts of bright flowers). Asahi Shinbun Newspaper Extra Report and Analysis, Vol, 2, No. 26, 32-36.

Matsui, T. (1967). Masaoka Shiki. Tokyo: Ofusha.

Michaels, S. (1981). "Sharing time": Children's narrative styles and differential access to literacy. Language in Society, 10, 423-442.

Michaels, S., & Collins, J. (1984). Oral discourse styles: Classroom interaction and the acquisition of literacy. In D. Tannen (Ed.), Coherence in spoken and written discourse, 219-244. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Murasawa, K. (1984). Renju (Linked people). In K. Murayama & K. Yamashita (Eds.), Haiku-yogo no kiso-chishiki (Basic knowledge of haiku terms). Tokyo: Kadokawa, 297-300.

Murayama, K. (1984). Ryoyo haiku (Convalescence haiku). In K. Murayama, & K. Yamashita (Eds.), Haiku-yogo no kiso-chishiki (Basic knowledge of haiku terms). Tokyo: Kadokawa, 286-191.

Ochs, E., & Schieffelin, B. B. (1984). Language acquisition and socialization: Three developmental stories. In R. Schweder & R. LeVine (Eds.), Culture theory: Essays on mind, self and emotion. NY: Cambridge University Press, 276-320.

Ochs, E. (1986). Introduction. In B. B. Schieffelin & E. Ochs (Eds.), Language socialization across cultures. NY: Cambridge University Press, 1-13.

Okubo, T. (1958). Shogakusei no kotoba (Elementary-school children's language). Tokyo: Shunjusha.

Okubo, T. (1959). Shikoryoku o sodateru hanashi-kotoba kyoiku (Spoken-language education to raise thinking power). Tokyo: Shunjusha.

Peterson, C., & McCabe, A. (1983). Developmental psycholinguistics: Three ways of looking at a child's narrative. NY: Plenum.

Saito, Y. (1979). Chusei renga no kenkyu (Study of renga in the Middle Ages). Tokyo: Yuseido.

Sakurai, M. et al. (1976). Hikkei Manyoshu yoran (Survey handbook of the Manyoshu). Tokyo: Ofusha.

Scollon, R., & Scollon, S. (1981). Narrative, literacy and face in interethnic communications. Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Shibata, H. (1984). Daidokoro haiku (Kitchen haiku). In K. Murayama & K. Yamashita (Eds.), Haiku-yogo no kiso-chishiki (Basic knowledge of haiku terms). Tokyo: Kadokawa, 185-189.

Schieffelin, B. B. (1986). Teasing and shaming in Kaluli children's interactions. In B. B. Schieffelin & E. Ochs (Eds.), Language socialization across cultures. NY: Cambridge University Press, 165-181.

Schieffelin, B. B., & Eisenberg, A. R. (1984). Cultural variation in children's conversations. In B. B. Schieffelin & J. Picker (Eds.) The acquisition of communicative competence. Baltimore, MD: University Park Press, 378-420.

Shimizu, M. (1978). Haikai-shi Basho (Haikai-poet Basho). Tokyo: Gakubunsha.

Snow, C. E. (1977). Mothers' speech research: from input to interaction. In C. E. Snow & C. A. Ferguson, Talking to children: Language input and acquisition. NY: Cambridge University Press, 31-49.

Snow, C. E. (1983). Literacy and language: Relationships during the preschool years. Harvard Educational Review, 53, 165-189.

Snow, C. E. (1986). Conversations with children. In P. Fletcher & M. Garman (Eds.), Language Acquisition. NY: Cambridge University Press, 69-89.

Snow, C. E. (1989a). Imitativeness: A trait or a skill. In G. Spiedel & K. Nelson (Eds), The many faces of imitation in language learning. NY: Springer-Verlag, 73-90.

Snow, C. E. (1989b). Understanding social interaction and language acquisition; Sentences are not enough. In M. H. Bornstein & J. S. Bruner (Eds.), Interaction in human development. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, 83-103.

Stevenson, H. W., Stigler, J. W., Lee, S., Lucker, G. W., Kitahara, S., & Hsu, C. (1985). Cognitive performance and academic achievement of Japanese, Chinese, and American children. Child Development, 56, 718-734.

Stevenson, H. W., Stigler, J. W., & Lee, S. (1986a). Achievement in mathematics. In H. Stevenson, H. Azuma & K. Hakuta (Eds.) Child development and education in Japan. NY: Freeman, 201-216.

Stevenson, H. W., Stigler, J. W., & Lee, S. (1986b). Learning to read Japanese. In H. Stevenson, H. Azuma & K. Hakuta (Eds.) Child development and education in Japan. NY: Freeman, 217-235.

Stevenson, H. W., Lee, S., Chen, C., Stigler, J. W., Hsu, C., & Kitahara, S. (1990). Contexts of achievement. Monographs of the Society for Research in Child Development, 55, (1-2, Serial No. 221).

Sutton-Smith, B. (1988). In search of the imagination. In K. Egan & D. Nadaner (Eds.), Imagination and education. NY: Teachers College Press, 3-29.

Tannen, D. (1985). Relative focus on involvement in oral and written discourse. In D. R. Olson, N. Torrance, & A. Hildyard (Eds.), Literacy, language and learning: The nature and consequence of reading and writing. NY: Cambridge University Press, 124-147.

Tsubouchi, T. (1985). Yoji ni koso haiku o (It is young children who should learn haiku). In K. Kumon (Ed.) Haiku Cards. Tokyo: Kumon.

Whiting, B. B., & Edwards, C. P. (1988). Children of different worlds: The formation of social behavior. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Yamada, Y. (1956). Manyoshu to Nihon-bungei (The Manyoshu and Japanese literature). Tokyo: Chuokoron.

Yamamoto, K. (1969). Haiku no sekai (The world of haiku). Tokyo: Kodansha.

Yamashita, K. (1984). Ageku (Raising verse). In K. Murayama, & K. Yamashita (Eds.), Haiku-yogo no kiso-chishiki (Basic knowledge of haiku terms). Tokyo: Kadokawa, 13-18.

Yasuda, A. (1962). Nihon no shika (Japanese poems). Osaka: Sogensha.

Table 1

Results of Japanese Children's Narrative Based on Stanza Analysis

Name	Gender	Age (yr; mo)	Lines	Stanzas	Line/Stanza	3-line stanzas to total stanzas	Parts
Ken	Boy	5;08	24	8	3.00	6/8	4
Hiro	Boy	6;09	25	9	2.78	7/9	3
Taro	Boy	6;09	22	7	3.14	2/7	3
Jiro	Boy	6;10	53	16	3.31	9/16	4
Ichiro	Boy	7;01	37	12	3.08	9/12	5
Moto	Boy	7;04	9	3	3.00	1/3	1
Shige	Boy	7;06	65	21	3.10	10/21	7
Tatsu	Boy	7;06	19	6	3.17	3/6	2
Yoshi	Boy	7;10	39	12	3.25	7/12	5
Nao	Boy	8;02	26	9	2.89	4/9	3
Yasu	Boy	8;03	33	11	3.00	5/11	3
Shun	Boy	8;04	33	11	3.00	8/11	3
Takashi	Boy	9;00	23	9	2.56	3/9	4
Yoko	Girl	6;07	8	3	2.67	2/3	1
Haru	Girl	7;07	69	23	3.00	9/23	1
Sayaka	Girl	7;10	17	6	2.83	5/6	4
Kei	Girl	8;01	28	10	2.80	7/10	3
Average		7;06	31.2	10.4	2.98	97/176	3.29

Table 2

A Collection of Experiences by Shun

Line	Stanza One	Stanza Two	Stanza Three
1	As for the first shot,	As for the second shot,	The next one didn't hurt so much, either.
2	I got (the shot) at Ehime,	I knew it would hurt,	As for the last shot, you know,
3	It hurt a lot.	It didn't hurt so much.	It didn't hurt at all.

Table 3

A Collection of Experiences by Moto

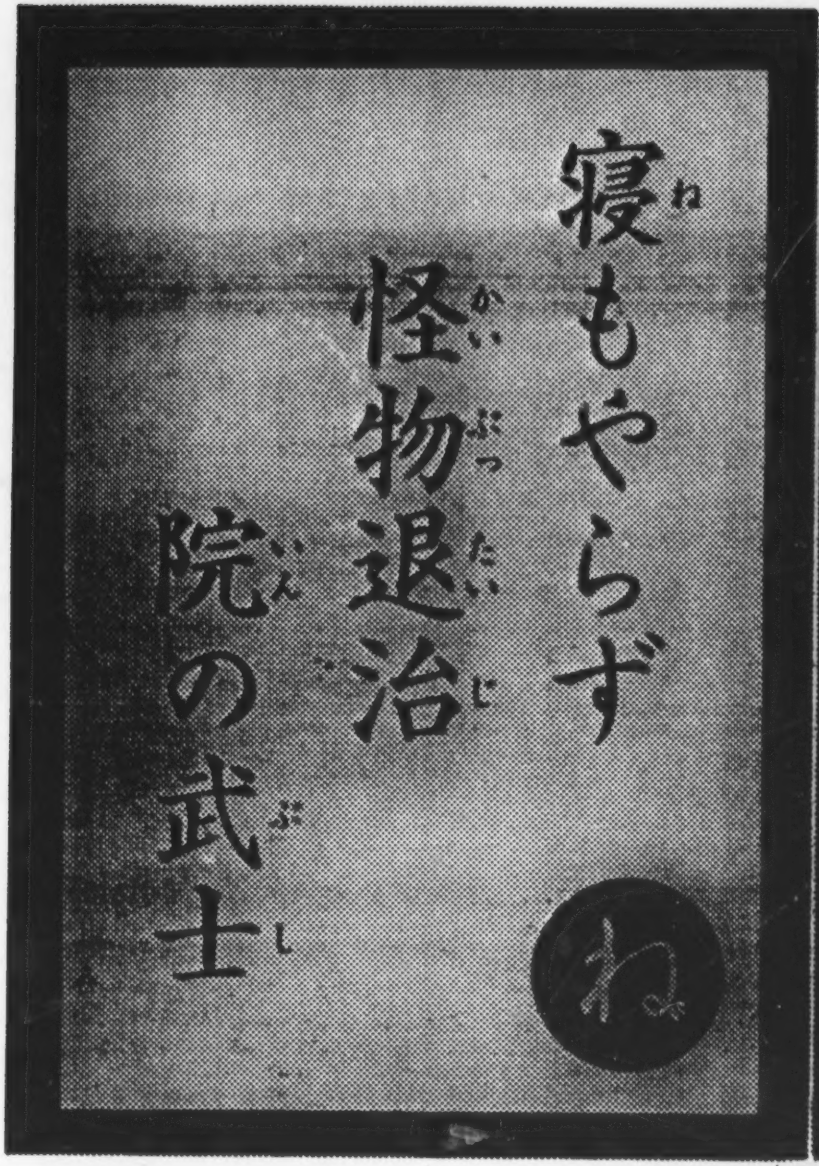
Line	Stanza One	Stanza Two	Stanza Three
1	I was playing on the monkey bars.	I got a splinter at home, too.	I had a hurt toenail here.
2	I got a splinter.	So I got a tape.	It hurt a little more.
3	And I had it pulled out.	and I had a small bandage.	
4		That time, it hurt a lot.	

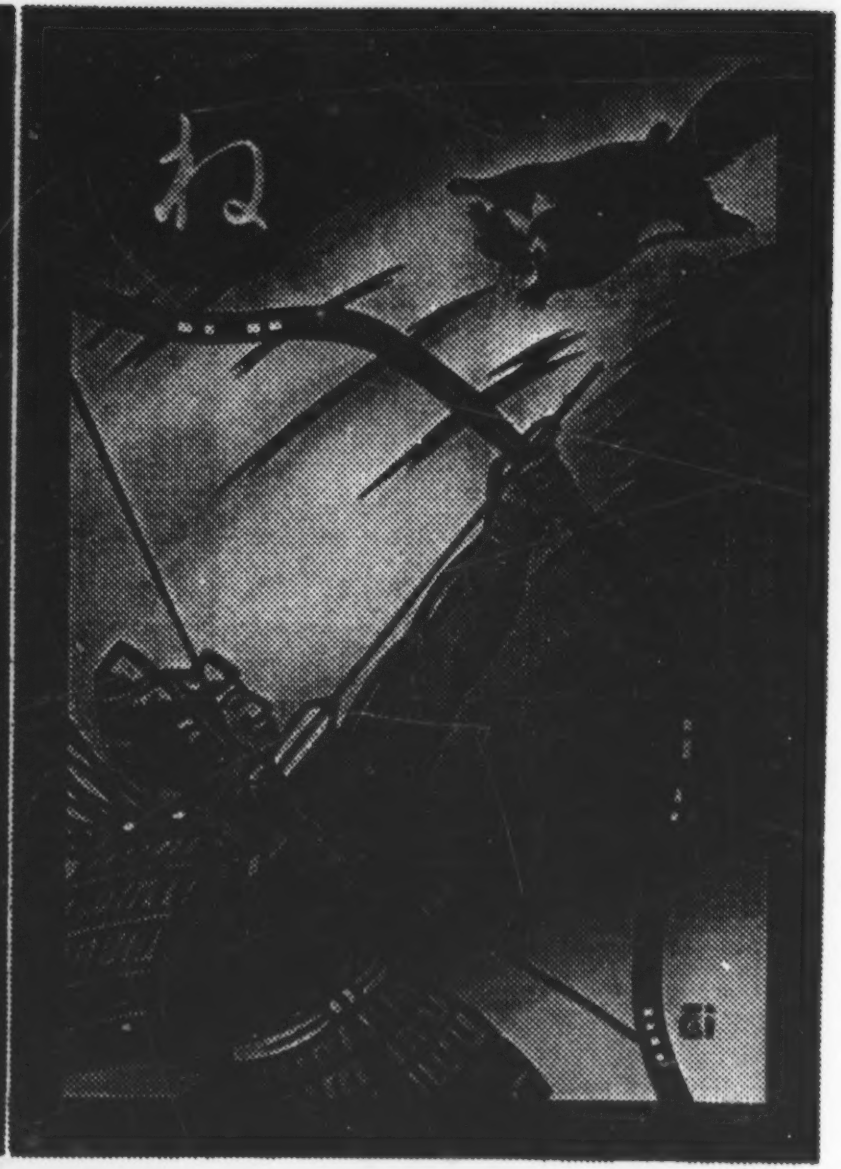
Figure Caption

Figures 1a and 1b. Ancient and Modern Karuta

Figure 1a: A Pair of Karuta from a Thirteenth-Century Story (above).

Figure 1b: A Pair of Modern Karuta (below).





BEST COPY AVAILABLE

さ

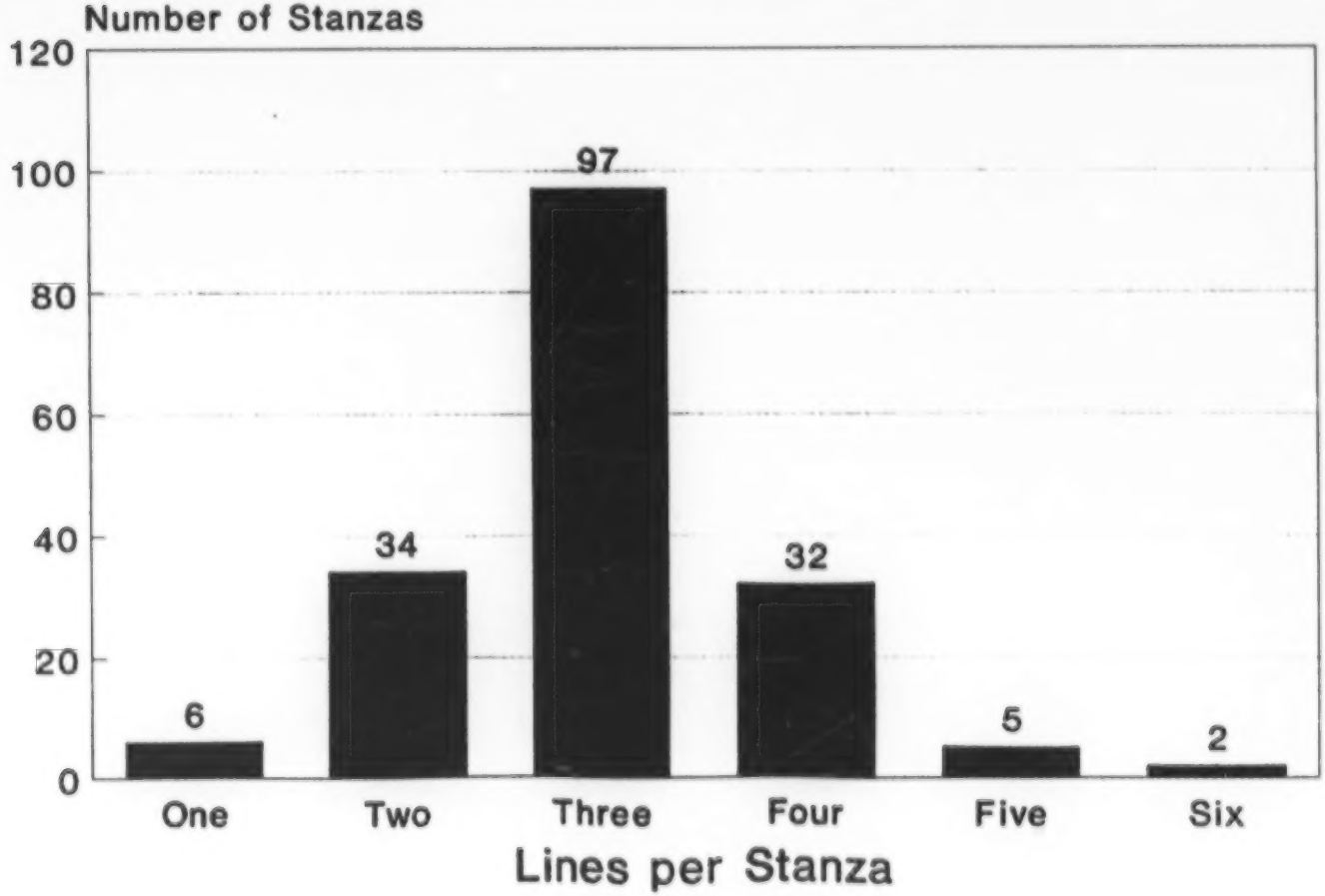
さくら
さかみち
さんぽみち

Figures 2a and 2b. Lines per Stanza

Figure 2a: Histogram of Lines per Stanza (above).

Figure 2b: Pie Chart of Lines per Stanza (below).

Histogram of Lines per Stanza



Lines per Stanza

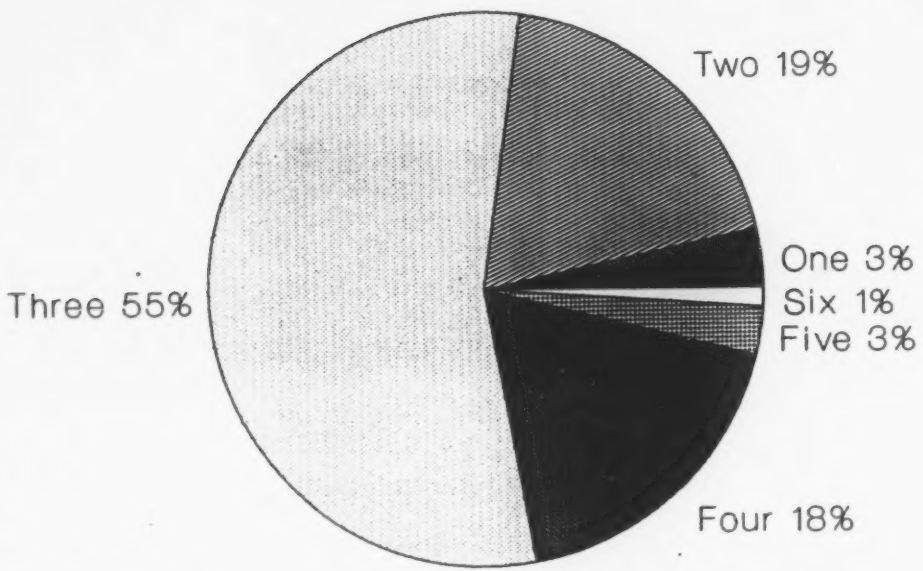


Figure 3. Graph of Sayaka's Story Structures in Stanza Analysis